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GREAT PIRATE STORIES

EDITED BY

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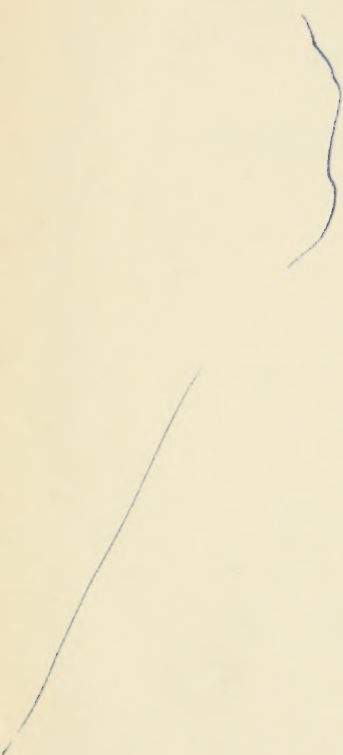
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Go tell your King, he is King of the Land;
But I am the King of the Sea!

BARBAROSSA TO CHARLES V.

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GREAT PIRATE STORIES

THE PICCAROON *

MICHAEL SCOTT

"Ours the wild life in tumult still to range."—*The Corsair*.

WE returned to Carthagera, to be at hand should any opportunity occur for Jamaica, and were lounging about one forenoon on the fortifications, looking with sickening hearts out to seaward, when a voice struck up the following negro ditty close to us:—

"Fader was a Corramantee,
Moder was a Mingo,
Black picaniny buccra wantee,
So dem sell a me, Peter, by jingo.
Jiggery, jiggery, jiggery."

"Well sung, Massa Bungo!" exclaimed Mr. Splinter; "where do you hail from, my hearty?"

"Hillo! Bungo, indeed! free and easy dat, anyhow. Who you yousef, eh?"

"Why, Peter," continued the lieutenant, "don't you know me?"

* From *Tom Cringle's Log*.

"Cannot say dat I do," rejoined the negro, very gravely, without lifting his head, as he sat mending his jacket in one of the embrasures near the water-gate of the arsenal—"Hab not de honour of your acquaintance, sir."

He then resumed his scream, for song it could not be called:—

"Mammy Sally's daughter
Lose him shoe in an old canoe
Dat lay half full of water,
And den she knew not what to do.
Jiggery, jig——"

"Confound your jiggery, jiggery, sir! But I know you well enough, my man; and you can scarcely have forgotten Lieutenant Splinter of the Torch, one would think?"

However, it was clear that the poor fellow really had not known us; for the name so startled him, that, in his hurry to unlace his legs from under him, as he sat tailor-fashion, he fairly capsized out of his perch, and toppled down on his nose—a feature, fortunately, so flattened by the hand of nature, that I question if it could have been rendered more obtuse had he fallen out of the maintop on a timber-head, or a marine officer's.

"Eh!—no—yes, him sure enough; and who is de picaniny hoffer—Oh! I see, Massa Tom Cringle? Garamighty, gentlemen, where have you drop from? Where is de old Torch? Many a time hab I, Peter

Mangrove, pilot to Him Britannic Majesty squadron, taken de old brig in and through amongst de keys at Port Royal!"

"Ay, and how often did you scour her copper against the coral reefs, Peter?"

His Majesty's pilot gave a knowing look, and laid his hand on his breast—"No more of dat if you love me, massa."

"Well, well, it don't signify now, my boy; she will never give you that trouble again—foundered—all hands lost, Peter, but the two you see before you."

"Werry sorry, Massa Plinter, werry sorry—What! de black cook's-mate and all?—But misfortune can't be help. Stop till I put up my needle, and I will take a turn wid you." Here he drew himself up with a great deal of absurd gravity. "Proper dat British hofficer in distress should assist one anoder—we shall consult togeder.—How can I serve you?"

"Why, Peter, if you could help us to a passage to Port Royal, it would be serving us most essentially. When we used to be lying there a week seldom passed without one of the squadron arriving from this; but here have we been for more than a month without a single pennant belonging to the station having looked in: our money is running short, and if we are to hold on in Carthagera for another six weeks, we shall not have a shot left in the locker—not a copper to tinkle on a tombstone."

The negro looked steadfastly at us, then carefully around. There was no one near.

"You see, Massa Plinter, I am desirable to serve you, for one little reason of my own; but, beside dat, it is good for me at present to make some friend wid de hoffer of de squadron, being as how dat I am absent widout leave."

"Oh, I perceive—a large R against your name in the master-attendant's books, eh?"

"You have hit it, sir, werry close; besides, I long mosh to return to my poor wife, Nancy Cator, dat I leave, wagabone dat I is, just about to be confine."

I could not resist putting in my oar.

"I saw Nancy just before we sailed, Peter—fine child that; not quite so black as you, though."

"Oh, massa," said Snowball, grinning, and showing his white teeth, "you know I am soch a terrible black fellow—But you are a leetle out at present, massa—I meant, about to be confine in de work-house for stealing de admiral's Muscovy ducks;" and he laughed loud and long.—"However, if you will promise dat you will stand my friends, I will put you in de way of getting a shove across to de east end of Jamaica; and I will go wid you too, for company."

"Thank you," rejoined Mr. Splinter; "but how do you mean to manage this? There is no Kingston trader here at present, and you don't mean to make a start of it in an open boat, do you?"

"No, sir, I don't; but in de first place—as you are

a gentleman, will you try and get me off when we get to Jamaica? Secondly, will you promise dat you will not seek to know more of de vessel you may go in, nor of her crew, than dey are willing to tell you, provided you are landed safe?"

"Why, Peter, I scarcely think you would deceive us, for you know I saved your bacon in that awkward affair, when through drunkenness you plumped the Torch ashore, so——"

"Forget dat, sir—forget dat! Never shall poor black pilot forget how you saved him from being seized up, when de gratings, boatswain's mates, and all, were ready at de gangway—never shall poor black rascal forget dat."

"Indeed, I do not think you would wittingly betray us into trouble, Peter; and as I guess you mean one of the forced traders, we will venture in her, rather than kick about here any longer, and pay a moderate sum for our passage."

"Den wait here five minute"—and so saying, he slipped down through the embrasure into a canoe that lay beneath, and in a trice we saw him jump on board of a long low nondescript kind of craft that lay moored within pistol-shot of the walls.

She was a large shallow vessel, coppered to the bends, of great breadth of beam, with bright sides, like an American, so painted as to give her a clumsy mercantile sheen externally, but there were many things that belied this to a nautical eye: her copper, for instance, was bright as burnished gold on her

very sharp bows and beautiful run; and we could see, from the bastion where we stood, that her decks were flush and level. She had no cannon mounted that were visible; but we distinguished grooves on her well-scrubbed decks, as from the recent traversing of carronade slides, while the bolts and rings in her high and solid bulwarks shone clear and bright in the ardent noontide. There was a tarpauling stretched over a quantity of rubbish, old sails, old junk, and hencoops, rather ostentatiously piled up forward, which we conjectured might conceal a long gun.

She was a very taught-rigged hermaphrodite, or brig forward and schooner aft. Her foremast and bowsprit were immensely strong and heavy, and her mainmast was so long and tapering, that the wonder was how the few shrouds and stays about it could support it; it was the handsomest stick we had ever seen. Her upper spars were on the same scale, tapering away through topmast, topgallant-mast, royal and skysail-masts, until they fined away into slender wands. The sails, that were loose to dry, were old, and patched, and evidently displayed to cloak the character of the vessel by an ostentatious show of their unserviceable condition; but her rigging was beautifully fitted, every rope lying in the chafe of another being carefully served with hide. There were several large bushy-whiskered fellows lounging about the deck, with their hair gathered into dirty net-bags, like the fishermen of Barcelona;

many had red silk sashes round their waists, through which were stuck their long knives, in shark-skin sheaths. Their numbers were not so great as to excite suspicion: but a certain daring, reckless manner, would at once have distinguished them, independently of anything else, from the quiet, hard-worked, red-shirted, merchant seaman.

"That chap is not much to be trusted," said the lieutenant; "his bunting would make a few jackets for Joseph, I take it." But we had little time to be critical, before our friend Peter came paddling back with another blackamoor in the stern, of as ungainly an exterior as could well be imagined. He was a very large man, whose weight every now and then, as they breasted the short sea, cocked up the snout of the canoe with Peter Mangrove in it, as if he had been a cork, leaving him to flourish his paddle in the air, like the weather-wheel of a steam-boat in a sea-way. The new-comer was strong and broad-shouldered, with long muscular arms, and a chest like Hercules; but his legs and thighs were, for his bulk, remarkably puny and misshapen. A thick fell of black wool, in close tufts, as if his face had been stuck full of cloves, covered his chin and upper-lip; and his hair, if hair it could be called, was twisted into a hundred short plaits, that bristled out, and gave his head, when he took his hat off, the appearance of a porcupine. There was a large sabre-cut across his nose and down his cheek, and he wore two immense gold earrings. His dress consisted

of short cotton drawers, that did not reach within two inches of his knee, leaving his thin cucumber shanks (on which the small bullet-like calf appeared to have been stuck before, through mistake, in place of abaft) naked to the shoe; a check shirt, and an enormously large Panama hat, made of a sort of cane, split small, and worn shovel-fashion. Notwithstanding, he made his bow by no means ungracefully, and offered his services in choice Spanish, but spoke English as soon as he heard who we were.

"Pray, sir, are you the master of that vessel?" said the lieutenant.

"No, sir, I am the mate, and I learn you are desirous of a passage to Jamaica." This was spoken with a broad Scotch accent.

"Yes, we are," said I, in very great astonishment, "but we will not sail with the devil; and who ever saw a negro Scotchman before, the spirit of Nicol Jarvie conjured into a blackamoor's skin!"

The fellow laughed. "I am black, as you see; so were my father and mother before me." And he looked at me, as much as to say, I have read the book you quote from. "But I was born in the good town of Port-Glasgow notwithstanding, and many a voyage I have made as cabin-boy and cook in the good ship the Peggy Bogle, with worthy old Jock Hunter; but that matters not. I was told you wanted to go to Jamaica; I dare-say our captain will take you for a moderate passage-money. But here he comes to speak for himself.—Captain Vander-

bosh, here are two shipwrecked British officers, who wish to be put on shore on the east end of Jamaica; will you take them, and what will you charge for their passage?"

The man he spoke to was nearly as tall as himself; he was a sunburnt, angular, raw-boned, iron-visaged veteran, with a nose in shape and color like the bowl of his own pipe, but not at all, according to the received idea, like a Dutchman. His dress was quizzical enough—white-trousers, a long-flapped embroidered waistcoat that might have belonged to a Spanish grandee, with an old-fashioned French-cut coat, showing the frayed marks where the lace had been stripped off, voluminous in the skirts, but very tight in the sleeves, which were so short as to leave his large bony paws, and six inches of his arm above the wrist, exposed; altogether, it fitted him like a purser's shirt on a hand-spike.

"Vy, for von hondred thaler I will land dem safe in Mancheoneal Bay; but how shall ve manage, Villiamson? De cabin vas point yesterday."

The Scotch negro nodded. "Never mind; I dare-say the smell of the paint won't signify to the gentlemen."

The bargain was ratified; we agreed to pay the stipulated sum, and that same evening, having dropped down with the last of the sea-breeze, we set sail from Bocca Chica, and began working up under the lee of the headland of Punto Canoa.

When off the San Domingo Gate, we burned a blue-light, which was immediately answered by another in-shore of us. In the glare we could perceive two boats, full of men. Any one who has ever played at snapdragon, can imagine the unearthly appearance of objects when seen by this species of firework. In the present instance it was held aloft on a boat-hook, and cast a strong spectral light on the band of lawless ruffians, who were so crowded together that they entirely filled the boats, no part of which could be seen. It seemed as if two clusters of fiends, suddenly vomited forth from hell, were floating on the surface of the midnight sea, in the midst of brimstone flames. In a few moments our crew was strengthened by about forty as ugly Christians as I ever set eyes on. They were of all ages, countries, complexions, and tongues, and looked as if they had been kidnapped by a pressgang as they had knocked off from the Tower of Babel. From the moment they came on board, Captain Vanderbosh was shorn of all his glory, and sank into the petty officer while, to our amazement, the Scottish negro took the command, evincing great coolness, energy, and skill. He ordered the schooner to be wore as soon as we had shipped the men, and laid her head off the land, then set all hands to shift the old suit of sails, and to bend new ones.

"Why did you not shift your canvas before we started?" said I to the Dutch captain, or mate, or whatever he might be.

“Vy vont you be content to take a quiet passage and hax no question?” was the uncivil rejoinder, which I felt inclined to resent, until I remembered that we were in the hands of the Philistines, where a quarrel would have been worse than useless. I was gulping down the insult as well as I could, when the black captain came aft, and, with the air of an equal, invited us into the cabin to take a glass of grog. We had scarcely sat down before we heard a noise like the swaying up of guns, or some other heavy articles, from the hold.

I caught Mr. Splinter’s eye—he nodded, but said nothing. In half an hour afterwards, when we went on deck, we saw by the light of the moon twelve eighteen-pound carronades mounted, six of a side, with their accompaniments of rammers and sponges, water-buckets, boxes of round, grape, and canister, and tubs of wadding, while the coamings of the hatchways were thickly studded with round-shot. The tarpaulin and lumber forward had disappeared, and there lay long Tom, ready levelled, grinning on his pivot.

The ropes were all coiled away, and laid down in regular man-of-war fashion; while an ugly gruff beast of a Spanish mulatto, apparently the officer of the watch, walked the weatherside of the quarterdeck in the true pendulum style. Look-outs were placed aft, and at the gangways and bows, who every now and then passed the word to keep a bright look-out, while the rest of the watch were stretched

silent, but evidently broad awake, under the lee of the boat. We noticed that each man had his cutlass buckled round his waist—that the boarding-pikes had been cut loose from the main boom, round which they had been stopped, and that about thirty muskets were ranged along a fixed rack that ran athwart ships near the main hatchway.

By the time we had reconnoitred thus far the night became overcast, and a thick bank of clouds began to rise to windward; some heavy drops of rain fell, and the thunder grumbled at a distance. The black veil crept gradually on, until it shrouded the whole firmament, and left us in as dark a night as ever poor devils were out in. By-and-by a narrow streak of bright moonlight appeared under the lower-edge of the bank, defining the dark outlines of the tumbling multitudinous billows on the horizon as distinctly as if they had been pasteboard waves in a theater.

"Is that a sail to windward in the clear, think you?" said Mr. Splinter to me in a whisper. At this moment it lightened vividly. "I am sure it is," continued he—"I could see her white canvas glance just now."

I looked steadily, and at last caught the small dark speck against the bright background, rising and falling on the swell of the sea like a feather.

As we stood on, she was seen more distinctly, but, to all appearance, nobody was aware of her proximity. We were mistaken in this, however, for

the captain suddenly jumped on a gun, and gave his orders with a fiery energy that startled us.

"Leroux!" A Small French boy was at his side in a moment. "Forward, and call all hands to shorten sail; but, *doucement*, you land-crab!—Man the fore clew-garnets.—Hands by the top-gallant clew-lines—jib down-haul—rise tacks and sheets—peak and throat hauyards—let go—clew up—settle away the main-gaff there!"

In almost as short a space as I have taken to write it, every inch of canvas was close furled—every light, except the one in the binnacle, and that was cautiously masked, carefully extinguished—a hundred and twenty men at quarters, and the ship under bare poles. The head-yards were then squared, and we bore up before the wind. The stratagem proved successful; the strange sail could be seen through the night-glasses cracking on close to the wind, evidently under the impression that we had tacked.

"Dere she goes, chasing de Gobel," said the Dutchman.

She now burned a blue-light, by which we saw she was a heavy cutter—without doubt our old fellow-cruiser the Spark. The Dutchman had come to the same conclusion.

"My eye, captain, no use to dodge from her; it is only dat footy little King's cutter on de Jamaica station."

"It is her, true enough," answered Williamson;

"and she is from Santa Martha with a freight of specie, I know. I will try a brush with her, by——"

Splinter struck in before he could finish his irreverent exclamation. "If your conjecture be true, I know the craft—a heavy vessel of her class, and you may depend on hard knocks, and small profit if you do take her; while if she takes you——"

"I'll be hanged if she does"—and he grinned at the conceit—then setting his teeth hard, "or rather, I will blow the schooner up with my own hand before I strike; better that than have one's bones bleached in chains on a key at Port Royal. But you see you cannot control us, gentlemen; so get down into the cable-tier, and take Peter Mangrove with you. I would not willingly see those come to harm who have trusted me."

However, there was no shot flying as yet, we therefore stayed on deck. All sail was once more made; the carronades were cast loose on both sides, and double-shotted, the long-gun slewed round, the tack of the fore-and-aft foresail hauled up, and we kept by the wind, and stood after the cutter, whose white canvas we could still see through the gloom like a snow-wreath.

As soon as she saw us, she tacked and stood towards us, and came bowling along gallantly, with the water roaring and flashing at her bows. As the vessels neared each other they both shortened sail, and finding that we could not weather her, we steered close under her lee.

As we crossed on opposite tacks, her commander hailed, "Ho, the brigantine, ahoy!"

"Hillo!" sung out Blackie, as he backed his main-top-sail.

"What schooner is that?"

"The Spanish schooner Caridad."

"Whence, and whither bound?"

"Carthagena to Porto Rico."

"Heave-to, and send your boat on board."

"We have none that will swim, sir."

"Very well, bring-to, and I will send mine."

"Call away the boarders," said our captain, in a low stern tone; "let them crouch out of sight behind the boat."

The cutter wore, and hove-to under our lee quarter, within pistol-shot; we heard the rattle of the ropes running through the davit-blocks, and the splash of the jolly-boat touching the water, then the measured stroke of the oars, as they glanced like silver in the sparkling sea, and a voice calling out, "Give way, my lads."

The character of the vessel we were on board of was now evident; and the bitter reflection that we were chained to the stake on board of a pirate, on the eve of a fierce contest with one of our own cruisers, was aggravated by the consideration, that the cutter had fallen into a snare by which a whole boat's crew would be sacrificed before a shot was fired.

I watched my opportunity as she pulled up along-

side, and called out, leaning well over the nettings, "Get back to your ship!—treachery! get back to your ship!"

The little French serpent was at my side with the speed of thought, his long clear knife glancing in one hand, while the fingers of the other were laid on his lips. He could not have said more plainly, "Hold your tongue, or I'll cut your throat;" but Sneezer now startled him by rushing between us, and giving a short angry growl.

The officer in the boat had heard me imperfectly; he rose up—"I won't go back, my good man, until I see what you are made of;" and as he spoke he sprang on board, but the instant he got over the bulwarks, he was caught by two strong hands, gagged, and thrown bodily down the main-hatchway.

"Heave," cried a voice, "and with a will!" and four cold 32-pound shot were hove at once into the boat alongside, which, crashing through her bottom, swamped her in a moment, precipitating the miserable crew into the boiling sea. Their shrieks still ring in my ears as they clung to the oars and some loose planks of the boat.

"Bring up the officer, and take out the gag," said Williamson.

Poor Walcolm, who had been an old messmate of mine, was now dragged to the gangway half-naked, his face bleeding, and heavily ironed, when the blackamoor, clapping a pistol to his head, bid him,

as he feared instant death, hail "that the boat had swamped under the counter, and to send another." The poor fellow, who appeared stunned and confused, did so, but without seeming to know what he said.

"Good God," said Mr. Splinter, "don't you mean to pick up the boat's crew?"

The blood curdled to my heart, as the black savage answered in a voice of thunder, "Let them drown and be d——d! Fill, and stand on!"

But the clouds by this time broke away, and the mild moon shone clear and bright once more upon this scene of most atrocious villainy. By her light the cutter's people could see that there was no one struggling in the water now, and that the people must either have been saved, or were past all earthly aid; but the infamous deception was not entirely at an end.

The captain of the cutter, seeing we were making sail, did the same, and after having shot ahead of us, hailed once more.

"Mr. Walcolm, why don't you run to leeward, and heave-to, sir?"

"Answer him instantly, and hail again for another boat," said the sable fiend, and cocked his pistol.

The click went to my heart. The young midshipman turned his pale mild countenance, laced with his blood, upwards towards the moon and stars, as one who had looked his last look on earth; the large tears were flowing down his cheeks, and mingling

with the crimson streaks, and a flood of silver light fell on the fine features of the poor boy, as he said firmly, "Never." The miscreant fired, and he fell dead.

"Up with the helm, and wear across her stern." The order was obeyed. "Fire!" The whole broadside was poured in, and we could hear the shot rattle and tear along the cutter's deck, and the shrieks and groans of the wounded, while the white splinters glanced away in all directions.

We now ranged alongside, and close action commenced, and never do I expect to see such an infernal scene again. Up to this moment there had been neither confusion nor noise on board the pirate—all had been coolness and order; but when the yards locked the crew broke loose from all control—they ceased to be men—they were demons, for they threw their own dead and wounded, as they were mown down like grass by the cutter's grape, indiscriminately down the hatchways to get clear of them. They had stripped themselves almost naked; and although they fought with the most desperate courage, yelling and cursing, each in his own tongue, most hideously, yet their very numbers, pent up in a small vessel, were against them. At length, amidst the fire and smoke and hellish uproar, we could see that the deck had become a very shambles; and unless they soon carried the cutter by boarding, it was clear that the coolness and discipline of my own glorious service must prevail, even against such fearful odds;

the superior size of the vessel, greater number of guns, and heavier metal. The pirates seemed aware of this themselves, for they now made a desperate attempt forward to carry their antagonist by boarding, led on by the black captain. Just at this moment the cutter's main-boom fell across the schooner's deck, close to where we were sheltering ourselves from the shot the best way we could; and while the rush forward was being made, by a sudden impulse Splinter and I, followed by Peter and the dog (who with wonderful sagacity, seeing the uselessness of resistance, had cowered quietly by my side during the whole row), scrambled along it as the cutter's people were repelling the attack on her bow, and all four of us, in our haste, jumped down on the poor Irishman at the wheel.

"Murder, fire, rape, and robbery!—it is capsized, stove in, sunk, burned, and destroyed I am! Captain, captain, we are carried aft here—Och, hubbaboo for Patrick Donnally!"

There was no time to be lost; if any of the crew came aft we were dead men, so we tumbled down through the cabin skylight, men and beast, the hatch having been knocked off by a shot, and stowed ourselves away in the side berths. The noise on deck soon ceased—the cannon were again plied—gradually the fire slackened, and we could hear that the pirate had scraped clear and escaped. Some time after this the lieutenant commanding the cutter came down. Poor Mr. Douglas! both Mr. Splinter and

I knew him well. He sat down and covered his face with his hands, while the blood oozed down between his fingers. He had received a cutlass wound on the head in the attack. His right arm was bound up with his neckcloth, and he was very pale.

"Steward, bring me a light.—Ask the doctor how many are killed and wounded; and—do you hear?—tell him to come to me when he is done forward, but not a moment sooner. To have been so mauled and duped by a buccanneer; and my poor boat's crew——"

Splinter groaned. He started—but at this moment the man returned again.

"Thirteen killed, your honor, and fifteen wounded; scarcely one of us untouched." The poor fellow's own skull was bound round with a bloody cloth.

"God help me! Gold help me! but they have died the death of men. Who knows what death the poor fellows in the boat have died!"—Here he was cut short by a tremendous scuffle on the ladder, down which an old quartermaster was trundled neck and crop into the cabin. "How now, Jones?"

"Please your honor," said the man, as soon as he had gathered himself up, and had time to turn his quid and smooth down his hair; but again the uproar was renewed, and Donnally was lugged in, scrambling and struggling between two seamen—"this here Irish chap, your honor, has lost his wits,

if so be he ever had any, your honor. He has gone mad through fright."

"Fright be d——d!" roared Donnally; "no man ever frightened me; but as his honor was skewering them bloody thieves forward, I was boarded and carried aft by the devil, your honor—pooped by Beelzebub, by ——," and he rapped his fist on the table until everything on it danced again. "There were four of them, yeer honor—a black one and two blue ones—and a pie-bald one, with four legs and a bushy tail—each with two horns on his head, for all the world like those on Father M'Cleary's red cow—no, she was humbled—it is Father Clannachan's, I mane—no, not his neither, for his was the parish bull; fait, I don't know what I mane, except that they had all horns on their heads, and vomited fire, and had each of them a tail at his stern, twisting and twining like a conger eel, with a blue light at the end on't."

"And dat's a lie, if ever dere was one," exclaimed Peter Mangrove, jumping from the berth. "Look at me, you Irish tief, and tell me if I have a blue light or a conger eel at my stern!"

This was too much for poor Donnally. He yelled out, "You'll believe your own eyes now, yeer honor, when you see one o' dem bodily before you! Let me go—let me go!" and, rushing up the ladder, he would, in all probability, have ended his earthly career in the salt sea, had his bullet-head not encountered the broadest part of the purser, who was

in the act of descending, with such violence, that he shot him out of the companion several feet above the deck, as if he had been discharged from a culverin; but the recoil sent poor Donnally, stunned and senseless, to the bottom of the ladder. There was no standing all this; we laughed outright, and made ourselves known to Mr. Douglas, who received us cordially, and in a week we were landed at Port Royal.

THE CAPTURE OF PANAMA, 1671 *

JOHN ESQUEMELING

CAPTAIN MORGAN set forth from the castle of Chagre, towards Panama, August 18, 1670. He had with him twelve hundred men, five boats laden with artillery, and thirty-two canoes. The first day they sailed only six leagues, and came to a place called De los Bracos. Here a party of his men went ashore, only to sleep and stretch their limbs, being almost crippled with lying too much crowded in the boats. Having rested awhile, they went abroad to seek victuals in the neighboring plantations; but they could find none, the Spaniards being fled, and carrying with them all they had. This day, being the first of their journey, they had such scarcity of victuals, as the greatest part were forced to pass with only a pipe of tobacco, without any other refreshment.

Next day, about evening, they came to a place called Cruz de Juan Gallego. Here they were compelled to leave their boats and canoes, the river being very dry for want of rain, and many trees having fallen into it.

The guides told them, that, about two leagues

* From *The Buccaneers of America*.

farther, the country would be very good to continue the journey by land. Hereupon they left one hundred and sixty men on board the boats, to defend them, that they might serve for a refuge in necessity.

Next morning, being the third day, they all went ashore, except those who were to keep the boats. To these Captain Morgan gave order, under great penalties, that no man, on any pretext whatever, should dare to leave the boats, and go ashore; fearing lest they should be surprised by an ambuscade of Spaniards in the neighboring woods, which appeared so thick as to seem almost impenetrable. This morning beginning their march, the ways proved so bad, that Captain Morgan thought it more convenient to transport some of the men in canoes (though with great labor) to a place farther up the river, called Cedro Bueno. Thus they re-embarked, and the canoes returned for the rest; so that about night they got altogether at the said place. The pirates much desired to meet some Spaniards or Indians, hoping to fill their bellies with their provisions, being reduced to extremity and hunger.

The fourth day the greatest part of the pirates marched by land, being led by one of the guides; the rest went by water farther up, being conducted by another guide, who always went before them, to discover, on both sides of the river, the ambuscades. These had also spies, who were very dextrous to give notice of all accidents, or of the arrival

of the pirates, six hours, at least, before they came. This day, about noon, they came near a post called Torna Cavallos: here the guide of the canoes cried out, that he perceived an ambuscade. His voice caused infinite joy to all the pirates, hoping to find some provisions to satiate their extreme hunger. Being come to the place, they found nobody in it, the Spaniards being fled, and leaving nothing behind but a few leathern bags, all empty, and a few crumbs of bread scattered on the ground where they had eaten. Being angry at this, they pulled down a few little huts which the Spaniards had made, and fell to eating the leathern bags, to allay the ferment of their stomachs, which was now so sharp as to gnaw their very bowels. Thus they made a huge banquet upon these bags of leather, divers quarrels arising concerning the greatest shares. By the bigness of the place, they conjectured about five hundred Spaniards had been there, whom, finding no victuals, they were now infinitely desirous to meet, intending to devour some of them rather than perish.

Having feasted themselves with those pieces of leather, they marched on, till they came about night to another post, called Torna Munni. Here they found another ambuscade, but as barren as the former. They searched the neighboring woods, but could not find anything to eat, the Spaniards having been so provident, as not to leave anywhere the least crumb of sustenance, whereby the pirates were

now brought to this extremity. Here again he was happy that he had reserved since noon any bit of leather to make his supper of, drinking after it a good draught of water for his comfort. Some, who never were out of their mothers' kitchens, may ask, how these pirates could eat and digest those pieces of leather, so hard and dry? Whom I answer, that, could they once experiment what hunger, or rather famine, is, they would find the way as the pirates did. For these first sliced it in pieces, then they beat it between two stones, and rubbed it, often dipping it in water, to make it supple and tender. Lastly, they scraped off the hair, and broiled it. Being thus cooked, they cut it into small morsels, and ate it, helping it down with frequent gulps of water, which, by good fortune, they had at hand.

The fifth day, about noon, they came to a place called Barbacoa. Here they found traces of another ambuscade, but the place totally as unprovided as the former. At a small distance were several plantations, which they searched very narrowly, but could not find any person, animal, or other thing, to relieve their extreme hunger. Finally, having ranged about, and searched a long time, they found a grot, which seemed to be but lately hewn out of a rock, where were two sacks of meal, wheat, and like things, with two great jars of wine, and certain fruits called platanoes. Captain Morgan, knowing some of his men were now almost dead with hunger, and fearing the same of the rest, caused what

was found to be distributed among them who were in greatest necessity. Having refreshed themselves with these victuals, they marched anew with greater courage than ever. Such as were weak were put into the canoes, and those commanded to land that were in them before. Thus they prosecuted their journey till late at night; when coming to a plantation, they took up their rest, but without eating anything; for the Spaniards, as before, had swept away all manner of provisions.

The sixth day they continued their march, part by land and part by water. Howbeit, they were constrained to rest very frequently, both for the ruggedness of the way, and their extreme weakness, which they endeavored to relieve by eating leaves of trees and green herbs, or grass; such was their miserable condition. This day at noon they arrived at a plantation, where was a barn full of maize. Immediately they beat down the doors and ate it dry, as much as they could devour; then they distributed a great quantity, giving every man a good allowance. Thus provided, and prosecuting their journey for about an hour, they came to another ambuscade. This they no sooner discovered, but they threw away their maize, with the sudden hopes of finding all things in abundance. But they were much deceived, meeting neither Indians nor victuals, nor anything else: but they saw, on the other side of the river, about a hundred Indians, who, all fleeing, escaped. Some few

pirates leaped into the river to cross it, and try to take any of the Indians, but in vain: for, being much more nimble than the pirates, they not only baffled them, but killed two or three with their arrows; hooting at them, and crying, "Ha, perros! a la savana, a la savana."—"Ha, ye dogs! go to the plain, go to the plain."

This day they could advance no farther, being necessitated to pass the river, to continue their march on the other side. Hereupon they reposed for that night, though their sleep was not profound; for great murmurings were made at Captain Morgan, and his conduct; some being desirous to return home, while others would rather die there than go back a step from their undertaking: others, who had greater courage, laughed and joked at their discourses. Meanwhile, they had a guide who much comforted them, saying, "It would not now be long before they met with people from whom they should reap some considerable advantage."

The seventh day, in the morning, they made clean their arms, and every one discharged his pistol, or musket, without bullet, to try their firelocks. This done, they crossed the river, leaving the post where they had rested, called Santa Cruz, and at noon they arrived at a village called Cruz. Being yet far from the place, they perceived much smoke from the chimneys: the sight hereof gave them great joy, and hopes of finding people and plenty of good cheer. Thus they went on as fast as they could, en-

couraging one another, saying, "There is smoke comes out of every house: they are making good fires, to roast and boil what we are to eat;" and the like.

At length they arrived there, all sweating and panting, but found no person in the town, nor anything eatable to refresh themselves, except good fires, which they wanted not; for the Spaniards, before their departure, had every one set fire to his own house, except the king's storehouses and stables.

They had not left behind them any beast, alive or dead, which much troubled their pursuers, not finding anything but a few cats and dogs, which they immediately killed and devoured. At last, in the king's stables, they found, by good fortune, fifteen or sixteen jars of Peru wine, and a leathern sack full of bread. No sooner had they drank of this wine, when they fell sick, almost every man: this made them think the wine was poisoned, which caused a new consternation in the whole camp, judging themselves now to be irrecoverably lost. But the true reason was, their want of sustenance, and the manifold sorts of trash they had eaten. Their sickness was so great, as caused them to remain there till the next morning, without being able to prosecute their journey in the afternoon. This village is seated in 9 deg. 2 min. north latitude, distant from the river Chagre twenty-six Spanish leagues, and eight from Panama. This is the last place to which boats or canoes can come; for which reason they

built here storehouses for all sorts of merchandise, which to and from Panama are transported on the backs of mules.

Here Captain Morgan was forced to leave his canoes, and land all his men, though never so weak; but lest the canoes should be surprised, or take up too many men for their defense, he sent them all back to the place where the boats were, except one, which he hid, that it might serve to carry intelligence. Many of the Spaniards and Indians of this village having fled to the near plantations, Captain Morgan ordered that none should go out of the village, except companies of one hundred together, fearing lest the enemy should take an advantage upon his men. Notwithstanding, one party contravened these orders, being tempted with the desire of victuals: but they were soon glad to fly into the town again, being assaulted with great fury by some Spaniards and Indians, who carried one of them away prisoner. Thus the vigilancy and care of Captain Morgan was not sufficient to prevent every accident.

The eighth day in the morning Captain Morgan sent two hundred men before the body of his army, to discover the way to Panama, and any ambuscades therein: the path being so narrow, that only ten or twelve persons could march abreast, and often not so many. After ten hours' march they came to a place called Quebrada Obscura: here, all on a sudden, three or four thousand arrows were

shot at them, they not perceiving whence they came, or who shot them: though they presumed it was from a high rocky mountain, from one side to the other, whereon was a grot, capable of but one horse or other beast laded. This multitude of arrows much alarmed the pirates, especially because they could not discover whence they were discharged. At last, seeing no more arrows, they marched a little farther, and entered a wood: here they perceived some Indians to fly as fast as they could, to take the advantage of another post, thence to observe their march; yet there remained one troop of Indians on the place, resolved to fight and defend themselves, which they did with great courage till their captain fell down wounded; who, though he despaired of life, yet his valor being greater than his strength, would ask no quarter, but, endeavoring to raise himself, with undaunted mind laid hold of his azagayo, or javelin, and struck at one of the pirates; but before he could second the blow, he was shot to death. This was also the fate of many of his companions, who, like good soldiers, lost their lives with their captain, for the defense of their country.

The pirates endeavored to take some of the Indians prisoners, but they being swifter than the pirates, every one escaped, leaving eight pirates dead, and ten wounded: yea, had the Indians been more dextrous in military affairs, they might have defended the passage, and not let one man pass. A little while after they came to a large champaign,

open, and full of fine meadows; hence they could perceive at a distance before them some Indians, on the top of a mountain, near the way by which they were to pass: they sent fifty men, the nimblest they had, to try to catch any of them, and force them to discover their companions: but all in vain; for they escaped by their nimbleness, and presently showed themselves in another place, hallooing to the English and crying, "A la savana, a la savana, perros Ingleses!" that is, "To the plain, to the plain, ye English dogs!" Meanwhile the ten pirates that were wounded were dressed, and plastered up.

Here was a wood, and on each side a mountain. The Indians possessed themselves of one, and the pirates of the other. Captain Morgan was persuaded the Spaniards had placed an ambuscade there, it lying so conveniently; hereupon, he sent two hundred men to search it. The Spaniards and Indians perceiving the pirates descended the mountain, did so too, as if they designed to attack them; but being got into the wood, out of sight of the pirates, they were seen no more, leaving the passage open.

About night fell a great rain, which caused the pirates to march the faster, and seek for houses to preserve their arms from being wet; but the Indians had set fire to every one, and driven away all their cattle, that the pirates, finding neither houses nor victuals, might be constrained to return: but, after diligent search, they found a few shep-

herds' huts, but in them nothing to eat. These not holding many men, they placed in them, out of every company, a small number, who kept the arms of the rest: those who remained in the open field endured much hardship that night, the rain not ceasing till morning.

Next morning, about the break of day, being the ninth of that tedious journey, Captain Morgan marched on while the fresh air of the morning lasted; for the clouds hanging yet over their heads, were much more favorable than the scorching rays of the sun, the way being now more difficult than before. After two hours' march, they discovered about twenty Spaniards, who observed their motions: they endeavored to catch some of them, but could not, they suddenly disappearing, and absconding themselves in caves among the rocks unknown to the pirates. At last, ascending a high mountain, they discovered the South Sea. This happy sight, as if it were the end of their labors, caused infinite joy among them: hence they could descry also one ship, and six boats, which were set forth from Panama, and sailed towards the islands of Tavoga and Tavogilla: then they came to a vale where they found much cattle, whereof they killed good store: here, while some killed and flayed cows, horses, bulls, and chiefly asses, of which there were most; others kindled fires, and got wood to roast them: then cutting the flesh into convenient pieces, or gobbets, they threw them into the fire, and, half car-

bonadoed or roasted, they devoured them, with incredible haste and appetite. Such was their hunger, that they more resembled cannibals than Europeans; the blood many times running down from their beards to their waists.

Having satisfied their hunger, Captain Morgan ordered them to continue the march. Here, again, he sent before the main body fifty men to take some prisoners, if they could; for he was much concerned, that in nine days he could not meet one person to inform him of the condition and forces of the Spaniards. About evening they discovered about two hundred Spaniards, who hallooed to the pirates, but they understood not what they said. A little while after they came in sight of the highest steeple of Panama: this they no sooner discovered but they showed signs of extreme joy, casting up their hats into the air, leaping and shouting, just as if they had already obtained the victory, and accomplished their designs. All their trumpets sounded, and drums beat, in token of this alacrity of their minds. Thus they pitched their camp for that night, with general content of the whole army, waiting with impatience for the morning, when they intended to attack the city. This evening appeared fifty horses, who came out of the city, on the noise of the drums and trumpets, to observe, as it was thought, their motions: they came almost within musket-shot of the army, with a trumpet that sounded marvelously well. Those on horseback

hallooed aloud to the pirates, and threatened them, saying, "Perros! nos veremos," that is, "Ye dogs! we shall meet ye." Having made this menace, they returned to the city, except only seven or eight horsemen, who hovered thereabouts to watch their motions. Immediately after the city fired, and ceased not to play their biggest guns all night long against the camp, but with little or no harm to the pirates, whom they could not easily reach. Now also the two hundred Spaniards, whom the pirates had seen in the afternoon, appeared again, making a show of blocking up the passages, that no pirates might escape their hands: but the pirates, though in a manner besieged, instead of fearing their blockades, as soon as they had placed sentinels about their camp, opened their satchels, and, without any napkins or plates, fell to eating, very heartily, the pieces of bulls' and horses' flesh which they had reserved since noon. This done, they laid themselves down to sleep on the grass, with great repose and satisfaction, expecting only, with impatience, the dawning of the next day.

The tenth day, betimes in the morning, they put all their men in order, and, with drums and trumpets sounding, marched directly towards the city; but one of the guides desired Captain Morgan not to take the common highway, lest they should find in it many ambuscades. He took his advice, and chose another way through the wood, though very irksome and difficult. The Spaniards perceiving the

pirates had taken another way they scarce had thought on, were compelled to leave their stops and batteries, and come out to meet them. The governor of Panama put his forces in order, consisting of two squadrons, four regiments of foot, and a huge number of wild bulls, which were driven by a great number of Indians, with some negroes, and others, to help them.

The pirates, now upon their march, came to the top of a little hill, whence they had a large prospect of the city and champaign country underneath. Here they discovered the forces of the people of Panama, in battle array, to be so numerous, that they were surprised with fear, much doubting the fortune of the day: yea, few or none there were but wished themselves at home, or at least free from obligation of that engagement, it so nearly concerning their lives. Having been some time wavering in their minds, they at last reflected on the straits they had brought themselves into, and that now they must either fight resolutely, or die; for no quarter could be expected from an enemy on whom they had committed so many cruelties. Hereupon they encouraged one another, resolving to conquer, or spend the last drop of blood. Then they divided themselves into three battalions, sending before two hundred buccaneers, who were very dextrous at their guns. Then descending the hill, they marched directly towards the Spaniards, who in a spacious field waited for their coming. As soon as

they drew nigh, the Spaniards began to shout and cry, "Viva el rey!" "God save the king!" and immediately their horse moved against the pirates: but the fields being full of quags, and soft underfoot, they could not wheel about as they desired. The two hundred buccaneers, who went before, each putting one knee to the ground, began to battle briskly, with a full volley of shot: the Spaniards defended themselves courageously, doing all they could to disorder the pirates. Their foot endeavored to second the horse, but were forced by the fire of the pirates to retreat. Finding themselves baffled, they attempted to drive the bulls against them behind, to put them into disorder; but the wild cattle ran away, frightened with the noise of the battle. Only some few broke through the English companies, and only tore the colors in pieces, while the buccaneers shot every one of them dead.

The battle having continued two hours, the greatest part of the Spanish horse was ruined, and almost all killed: the rest fled, which the foot seeing, and that they could not possibly prevail, they discharged the shot they had in their muskets, and throwing them down, fled away, every one as he could. The pirates could not follow them, being too much harassed and wearied with their long journey. Many, not being able to fly whither they desired, hid themselves, for that present, among the shrubs of the sea-side, but very unfortunately; for most of them being found by the pirates, were instantly

killed, without any quarter. Some religious men were brought prisoners before Captain Morgan; but he, being deaf to their cries, commanded them all to be pistoled, which was done. Soon after they brought a captain to him, whom he examined very strictly; particularly, wherein consisted the forces of those of Panama? He answered, their whole strength consisted in four hundred horse, twenty-four companies of foot, each one hundred men complete; sixty Indians, and some negroes, who were to drive two thousand wild bulls upon the English, and thus, by breaking their files, put them into a total disorder: beside, that in the city they had made trenches, and raised batteries in several places, in all which they had placed many guns; and that at the entry of the highway, leading to the city, they had built a fort mounted with eight great brass guns, defended by fifty men.

Captain Morgan having heard this, gave orders instantly to march another way; but first he made a review of his men, whereof he found both killed and wounded a considerable number, and much greater than had been believed. Of the Spaniards were found six hundred dead on the place, besides the wounded and prisoners. The pirates, nothing discouraged, seeing their number so diminished, but rather filled with greater pride, perceiving what huge advantage they had obtained against their enemies, having rested some time, prepared to march courageously towards the city, plighting their oaths

to one another, that they would fight till not a man was left alive. With this courage they recommenced their march, either to conquer or be conquered; carrying with them all the prisoners.

They found much difficulty in their approach to the city, for within the town the Spaniards had placed many great guns, at several quarters, some charged with small pieces of iron, and others with musket bullets. With all these they saluted the pirates at their approaching, and gave them full and frequent broadsides, firing at them incessantly; so that unavoidably they lost at every step great numbers of men. But not these manifest dangers of their lives, nor the sight of so many as dropped continually at their sides, could deter them from advancing, and gaining ground every moment on the enemy; and though the Spaniards never ceased to fire, and act the best they could for their defense, yet they were forced to yield, after three hours' combat. And the pirates having possessed themselves at last of the city, killed all that attempted in the least to oppose them. The inhabitants had transported the best of their goods to more remote and secret places; howbeit, they found in the city several warehouses well stocked with merchandise, as well silks and cloths, as linen and other things of value. As soon as the first fury of their entrance was over, Captain Morgan assembled his men, and commanded them, under great penalties, not to drink or taste any wine; and the reason he

gave for it was, because he had intelligence that it was all poisoned by the Spaniards. Howbeit, it was thought he gave these prudent orders to prevent the debauchery of his people, which he foresaw would be very great at the first, after so much hunger sustained by the way; fearing, withal, lest the Spaniards, seeing them in wine, should rally, and, falling on the city, use them as inhumanly as they had used the inhabitants before.

Captain Morgan, as soon as he had placed necessary guards at several quarters within and without the city, commanded twenty-five men to seize a great boat, which had stuck in the mud of the port, for want of water, at a low tide. The same day about noon, he caused fire privately to be set to several great edifices of the city, nobody knowing who were the authors thereof, much less on what motives Captain Morgan did it, which are unknown to this day: the fire increased so, that before night the greatest part of the city was in a flame. Captain Morgan pretended the Spaniards had done it, perceiving that his own people reflected on him for that action. Many of the Spaniards, and some of the pirates, did what they could, either to quench the flames or by blowing up houses with gunpowder, and pulling down others to stop it, but in vain: for in less than half an hour it consumed a whole street. All the houses of the city were built with cedar, very curious and magnificent, and richly adorned, especially with hangings and paintings, whereof part

were before removed, but another great part were consumed by fire.

There were in this city (which is the see of a bishop) eight monasteries, seven for men, and one for women; two stately churches, and one hospital. The churches and monasteries were all richly adorned with altar-pieces and paintings, much gold and silver, and other precious things, all which the ecclesiastics had hidden. Besides which, here were two thousand houses of magnificent building, the greatest part inhabited by merchants vastly rich. For the rest of less quality, and tradesmen, this city contained five thousand more. Here were also many stables for the horses and mules that carry the plate of the king of Spain, as well as private men, towards the North Sea. The neighboring fields were full of fertile plantations and pleasant gardens, affording delicious prospects to the inhabitants all the year.

The Genoese had in this city a stately house for their trade of negroes. This likewise was by Captain Morgan burnt to the very ground. Besides which building, there were consumed two hundred warehouses, and many slaves, who had hid themselves therein, with innumerable sacks of meal; the fire of which continued four weeks after it had begun. The greatest part of the pirates still encamped without the city, fearing and expecting the Spaniards would come and fight them anew, it being known they much outnumbered the pirates. This

made them keep the field, to preserve their forces united, now much diminished by their losses. Their wounded, which were many, they put into one church, which remained standing, the rest being consumed by the fire. Besides these decreases of his men, Captain Morgan had sent a convoy of one hundred and fifty men to the castle of Chagre, to carry the news of his victory at Panama.

They saw often whole troops of Spaniards run to and fro in the fields, which made them suspect their rallying, which they never had the courage to do. In the afternoon Captain Morgan reëntered the city with his troops, that every one might take up their lodgings, which now they could hardly find, few houses having escaped the fire. Then they sought very carefully among the ruins and ashes, for utensils of plate or gold, that were not quite wasted by the flames: and of such they found no small number, especially in wells and cisterns, where the Spaniards had hid them.

Next day Captain Morgan dispatched away two troops, of one hundred and fifty men each, stout and well armed, to seek for the inhabitants who were escaped. These having made several excursions up and down the fields, woods, and mountains adjacent, returned after two days, bringing above two hundred prisoners, men, women, and slaves. The same day returned also the boat which Captain Morgan had sent to the South Sea, bringing three other boats which they had taken. But all

these prizes they could willingly have given, and greater labor into the bargain, for one galleon, which miraculously escaped, richly laden with all the king's plate, jewels, and other precious goods of the best and richest merchants of Panama: on board which were also the religious women of the nunnery, who had embarked with them all the ornaments of their church, consisting in much gold, plate, and other things of great value.

The strength of this galleon was inconsiderable, having only seven guns, and ten or twelve muskets, and very ill provided with victuals, necessaries, and fresh water, having no more sails than the uppermost of the mainmast. This account the pirates received from some one who had spoken with seven mariners belonging to the galleon, who came ashore in the cockboat for fresh water. Hence they concluded they might easily have taken it, had they given her chase, as they should have done; but they were impeded from following this vastly rich prize, by their gluttony and drunkenness, having plentifully debauched themselves with several rich wines they found ready, choosing rather to satiate their appetites than to lay hold on such huge advantage; since this one prize would have been of far greater value than all they got at Panama, and the places thereabout. Next day, repenting of their negligence, being weary of their vices and debaucheries, they set forth another boat, well armed, to pursue with all speed the said galleon; but in vain, the Spaniards

who were on board having had intelligence of their own danger one or two days before, while the pirates were cruising so near them; whereupon they fled to places more remote and unknown.

The pirates found, in the ports of the island of Tavoga and Tavogilla, several boats laden with very good merchandise; all which they took, and brought to Panama, where they made an exact relation of all that had passed to Captain Morgan. The prisoners confirmed what the pirates said, adding, that they undoubtedly knew where the galleon might then be, but that it was very probable they had been relieved before now from other places. This stirred up Captain Morgan anew, to send forth all the boats in the port of Panama to seek the said galleon till they could find her. These boats, being in all four, after eight days' cruising to and fro, and searching several ports and creeks, lost all hopes of finding her, whereupon they returned to Tavoga and Tavogilla. Here they found a reasonable good ship newly come from Payta, laden with cloth, soap, sugar, and biscuit, with 20,000 pieces of eight. This they instantly seized, without the least resistance; as also a boat which was not far off, on which they laded great part of the merchandises from the ship, with some slaves. With this spoil they returned to Panama, somewhat better satisfied; yet, withal, much discontented that they could not meet with the galleon.

The convoy which Captain Morgan had sent to

the castle of Chagre returned much about the same time, bringing with them very good news; for while Captain Morgan was on his journey to Panama, those he had left in the castle of Chagre had sent for two boats to cruise. These met with a Spanish ship, which they chased within sight of the castle. This being perceived by the pirates in the castle, they put forth Spanish colors, to deceive the ship that fled before the boats; and the poor Spaniards, thinking to take refuge under the castle, were caught in a snare, and made prisoners. The cargo on board the said vessel consisted in victuals and provisions, than which nothing could be more opportune for the castle, where they began already to want things of this kind.

This good luck of those of Chagre caused Captain Morgan to stay longer at Panama, ordering several new excursions into the country round about; and while the pirates at Panama were upon these expeditions, those at Chagre were busy in piracies on the North Sea. Captain Morgan sent forth, daily, parties of two hundred men, to make inroads into all the country round about; and when one party came back, another went forth, who soon gathered much riches, and many prisoners. These being brought into the city, were put to the most exquisite tortures, to make them confess both other people's goods and their own. Here it happened that one poor wretch was found in the house of a person of quality, who had put on, amidst the con-

fusion, a pair of taffety breeches of his master's, with a little silver key hanging out; perceiving which, they asked him for the cabinet of the said key. His answer was, he knew not what was become of it, but that finding those breeches in his master's house, he had made bold to wear them. Not being able to get any other answer, they put him on the rack, and inhumanly disjointed his arms; then they twisted a cord about his forehead, which they wrung so hard that his eyes appeared as big as eggs, and were ready to fall out. But with these torments not obtaining any positive answer, they hung him up by the wrists, giving him many blows and stripes under that intolerable pain and posture of body. Afterwards they cut off his nose and ears, and singed his face with burning straw, till he could not speak, nor lament his misery any longer: then, losing all hopes of any confession, they bade a negro to run him through, which put an end to his life, and to their inhuman tortures. Thus did many others of those miserable prisoners finish their days, the common sport and recreation of these pirates being such tragedies.

Captain Morgan having now been at Panama full three weeks, commanded all things to be prepared for his departure. He ordered every company of men to seek so many beasts of carriage as might convey the spoil to the river where his canoes lay. About this time there was a great rumor, that a considerable number of pirates intended to leave

Captain Morgan; and that, taking a ship then in port, they determined to go and rob on the South Sea, till they had got as much as they thought fit, and then return homewards, by way of the East Indies. For which purpose they had gathered much provisions, which they had hid in private places, with sufficient powder, bullets, and all other ammunition: likewise some great guns belonging to the town, muskets, and other things, wherewith they designed not only to equip their vessel, but to fortify themselves in some island which might serve them for a place of refuge.

This design had certainly taken effect, had not Captain Morgan had timely advice of it from one of their comrades; hereupon he commanded the mainmast of the said ship to be cut down and burnt, with all the other boats in the port: hereby the intentions of all or most of his companions were totally frustrated. Then Captain Morgan sent many of the Spaniards into the adjoining fields and country to seek for money, to ransom not only themselves, but the rest of the prisoners, as likewise the ecclesiastics. Moreover, he commanded all the artillery of the town to be nailed and stopped up. At the same time he sent out a strong company of men to seek for the governor of Panama, of whom intelligence was brought, that he had laid several ambuscades in the way by which he ought to return: but they returned soon after, saying they had not found any sign of any such ambuscades. For confirma-

tion whereof, they brought some prisoners, who declared that the said governor had had an intention of making some opposition by the way, but that the men designed to effect it were unwilling to undertake it: so that for want of means he could not put his design in execution.

February 24, 1671, Captain Morgan departed from Panama, or rather from the place where the city of Panama stood; of the spoils whereof he carried with him one hundred and seventy-five beasts of carriage, laden with silver, gold, and other precious things, beside about six hundred prisoners, men, women, children and slaves. That day they came to a river that passes through a delicious plain, a league from Panama: here Captain Morgan put all his forces into good order, so as that the prisoners were in the middle, surrounded on all sides with pirates, where nothing else was to be heard but lamentations, cries, shrieks, and doleful sighs of so many women and children, who feared Captain Morgan designed to transport them all into his own country for slaves. Besides, all those miserable prisoners endured extreme hunger and thirst at that time, which misery Captain Morgan designedly caused them to sustain, to excite them to seek for money to ransom themselves, according to the tax he had set upon every one. Many of the women begged Captain Morgan, on their knees, with infinite sighs and tears, to let them return to Panama, there to live with their dear husbands and children in little huts

of straw, which they would erect, seeing they had no houses till the rebuilding of the city. But his answer was, "He came not thither to hear lamentations and cries, but to seek money: therefore they ought first to seek out that, wherever it was to be had, and bring it to him; otherwise he would assuredly transport them all to such places whither they cared not to go."

Next day, when the march began, those lamentable cries and shrieks were renewed, so as it would have caused compassion in the hardest heart: but Captain Morgan, as a man little given to mercy, was not moved in the least. They marched in the same order as before, one party of the pirates in the van, the prisoners in the middle, and the rest of the pirates in the rear; by whom the miserable Spaniards were at every step punched and thrust in their backs and sides, with the blunt ends of their arms, to make them march faster.

A beautiful lady, wife to one of the richest merchants of Tavoga, was led prisoner by herself, between two pirates. Her lamentations pierced the skies, seeing herself carried away into captivity often crying to the pirates, and telling them, "That she had given orders to two religious persons, in whom she had relied, to go to a certain place, and fetch so much money as her ransom did amount to; that they had promised faithfully to do it, but having obtained the money, instead of bringing it to her, they had employed it another way, to ransom some

of their own, and particular friends." This ill action of theirs was discovered by a slave, who brought a letter to the said lady. Her complaints, and the cause thereof, being brought to Captain Morgan, he thought fit to inquire thereinto. Having found it to be true—especially hearing it confirmed by the confession of the said religious men, though under some frivolous excuses of having diverted the money but for a day or two, in which time they expected more sums to repay it—he gave liberty to the said lady, whom otherwise he designed to transport to Jamaica. But he detained the said religious men as prisoners in her place, using them according to their desserts.

Captain Morgan arriving at the town called Cruz, on the banks of the river Chagre, he published an order among the prisoners, that within three days every one should bring in their ransom, under the penalty of being transported to Jamaica. Meanwhile he gave orders for so much rice and maize to be collected thereabouts, as was necessary for victualing his ships. Here some of the prisoners were ransomed, but many others could not bring in their money. Hereupon he continued his voyage, leaving the village on the 5th of March following, carrying with him all the spoil he could. Hence he likewise led away some new prisoners, inhabitants there, with those in Panama, who had not paid their ransoms. But the two religious men, who had diverted the lady's money, were ransomed three days after by

other persons, who had more compassion for them than they had showed for her.

About the middle of the way to Chagre, Captain Morgan commanded them to be mustered, and caused every one to be sworn, that they had concealed nothing, even not to the value of sixpence. This done, Captain Morgan knowing those lewd fellows would not stick to swear falsely for interest, he commanded every one to be searched very strictly, both in their clothes and satchels, and elsewhere. Yea, that this order might not be ill taken by his companions, he permitted himself to be searched, even to his very shoes. To this effect, by common consent, one was assigned out of every company to be searchers of the rest. The French pirates that assisted on this expedition disliked this new practice of searching; but, being outnumbered by the English, they were forced to submit as well as the rest. The search being over, they reëmbarked, and arrived at the castle of Chagre on the 9th of March.

THE MALAY PROAS *

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER

WE had cleared the Straits of Sunda early in the morning, and had made a pretty fair run in the course of the day, though most of the time in thick weather. Just as the sun set, however, the horizon became clear, and we got a sight of two small sail, seemingly heading in toward the coast of Sumatra, proas by their rig and dimensions. They were so distant, and were so evidently steering for the land, that no one gave them much thought, or bestowed on them any particular attention. Proas in that quarter were usually distrusted by ships, it is true; but the sea is full of them, and far more are innocent than are guilty of any acts of violence. Then it became dark soon after these craft were seen, and night shut them in. An hour after the sun had set, the wind fell to a light air, that just kept steerage-way on the ship. Fortunately, the *John* was not only fast, but she minded her helm, as a light-footed girl turns in a lively dance. I never was in a better-steering ship, most especially in moderate weather.

Mr. Marble had the middle watch that night, and,

* From *Afloat and Ashore*.

of course, I was on deck from midnight until four in the morning. It proved misty most of the watch, and for quite an hour we had a light drizzling rain. The ship the whole time was close-hauled, carrying royals. As everybody seemed to have made up his mind to a quiet night, one without any reefing or furling, most of the watch were sleeping about the decks, or wherever they could get good quarters, and be least in the way. I do not know what kept me awake, for lads of my age are apt to get all the sleep they can; but I believe I was thinking of Clawbonny, and Grace, and Lucy; for the latter, excellent girl as she was, often crossed my mind in those days of youth and comparative innocence. Awake I was, and walking in the weather-gangway, in a sailor's trot. Mr. Marble, he I do believe was fairly snoozing on the hen-coops, being, like the sails, as one might say, barely "asleep." At that moment I heard a noise, one familiar to seamen; that of an oar falling in a boat. So completely was my mind bent on other and distant scenes, that at first I felt no surprise, as if we were in a harbor surrounded by craft of various sizes, coming and going at all hours. But a second thought destroyed this illusion, and I looked eagerly about me. Directly on our weather-bow, distant, perhaps, a cable's length, I saw a small sail, and I could distinguish it sufficiently well to perceive it was a proa. I sang out "Sail ho! and close aboard!"

Mr. Marble was on his feet in an instant. He afterward told me that when he opened his eyes, for he admitted this much to me in confidence, they fell directly on the stranger. He was too much of a seaman to require a second look in order to ascertain what was to be done. "Keep the ship away—keep her broad off!" he called out to the man at the wheel. "Lay the yards square—call all hands, one of you. Captain Robbins, Mr. Kite, bear a hand up; the bloody proas are aboard us!" The last part of this call was uttered in a loud voice, with the speaker's head down the companion-way. It was heard plainly enough below, but scarcely at all on deck.

In the meantime everybody was in motion. It is amazing how soon sailors are wide awake when there is really anything to do! It appeared to me that all our people mustered on deck in less than a minute, most of them with nothing on but their shirts and trousers. The ship was nearly before the wind by the time I heard the captain's voice; and then Mr. Kite came bustling in among us forward, ordering most of the men to lay aft to the braces, remaining himself on the forecastle, and keeping me with him to let go the sheets. On the forecastle, the strange sail was no longer visible, being now abaft the beam; but I could hear Mr. Marble swearing there were two of them, and that they must be the very chaps we had seen to leeward, and standing in for the land at sunset. I also

heard the captain calling out to the steward to bring him a powder-horn. Immediately after, orders were given to let fly all our sheets forward, and then I perceived that they were wearing ship. Nothing saved us but the prompt order of Mr. Marble to keep the ship away, by which means, instead of moving toward the proas, we instantly began to move from them. Although they went three feet to our two, this gave us a moment of breathing time.

As our sheets were all flying forward, and remained so for a few minutes, it gave me leisure to look about. I soon saw both proas, and glad enough was I to perceive that they had not approached materially nearer. Mr. Kite observed this also, and remarked that our movements had been so prompt as to "take the rascals aback." He meant they did not exactly know what we were at, and had not kept away with us.

At this instant, the captain and five or six of the oldest seamen began to cast loose all our starboard, or weather guns, four in all, and sixes. We had loaded these guns in the Straits of Banca, with grape and canister, in readiness for just such pirates as were now coming down upon us; and nothing was wanting but the priming and a hot loggerhead. It seems two of the last had been ordered in the fire, when we saw the proas at sunset; and they were now in excellent condition for service, live coals being kept around them all night by command. I

saw a cluster of men busy with the second gun from forward, and could distinguish the captain pointing to it.

"There cannot well be any mistake, Mr. Marble?" the captain observed, hesitating whether to fire or not.

"Mistake, sir? Lord, Captain Robbins, you might cannonade any of the islands astern for a week, and never hurt an honest man. Let 'em have it, sir; I'll answer for it, you do good."

This settled the matter. The loggerhead was applied, and one of our sixes spoke out in a smart report. A breathless stillness succeeded. The proas did not alter their course, but neared us fast. The captain levelled his night-glass, and I heard him tell Kite, in a low voice, that they were full of men. The word was now passed to clear away all the guns, and to open the arm-chest, to come at the muskets and pistols. I heard the rattling of the boarding-pikes, too, as they were cut adrift from the spanker-boom, and fell upon the decks. All this sounded very ominous, and I began to think we should have a desperate engagement first, and then have all our throats cut afterward.

I expected now to hear the guns discharged in quick succession, but they were got ready only, not fired. Kite went aft, and returned with three or four muskets, and as many pikes. He gave the latter to those of the people who had nothing to do with the guns. By this time the ship was on

a wind, steering a good full, while the two proas were just abeam, and closing fast. The stillness that reigned on both sides was like that of death. The proas, however, fell a little more astern; the result of their own manœuvering, out of all doubt, as they moved through the water much faster than the ship, seeming desirous of dropping into our wake, with a design of closing under our stern, and avoiding our broadside. As this would never do, and the wind freshened so as to give us four or five knot way, a most fortunate circumstance for us, the captain determined to tack while he had room. The *John* behaved beautifully, and came round like a top. The proas saw there was no time to lose, and attempted to close before we could fill again; and this they would have done with ninety-nine ships in a hundred. The captain knew his vessel, however, and did not let her lose her way, making everything draw again as it might be by instinct. The proas tacked, too, and, laying up much nearer to the wind than we did, appeared as if about to close on our lee-bow. The question was, now, whether we could pass them or not before they got near enough to grapple. If the pirates got on board us, we were hopelessly gone; and everything depended on coolness and judgment. The captain behaved perfectly well in this critical instant, commanding a dead silence, and the closest attention to his orders.

I was too much interested at this moment to feel

the concern that I might otherwise have experienced. On the forecastle, it appeared to us all that we should be boarded in a minute, for one of the proas was actually within a hundred feet, though losing her advantage a little by getting under the lee of our sails. Kite had ordered us to muster forward of the rigging, to meet the expected leap with a discharge of muskets, and then to present our pikes, when I felt an arm thrown around my body, and was turned inboard, while another person assumed my place. This was Neb, who had thus coolly thrust himself before me, in order to meet the danger first. I felt vexed, even while touched with the fellow's attachment and self-devotion, but had no time to betray either feeling before the crews of the proas gave a yell, and discharged some fifty or sixty matchlocks at us. The air was full of bullets, but they all went over our heads. Not a soul on board the *John* was hurt. On our side, we gave the gentlemen the four sixes, two at the nearest and two at the stern-most proa, which was still near a cable's length distant. As often happens, the one seemingly farthest from danger, fared the worst. Our grape and canister had room to scatter, and I can at this distant day still hear the shrieks that arose from that craft! They were like the yells of fiends in anguish. The effect on that proa was instantaneous; instead of keeping on after her consort, she wore short round on her heel, and

stood away in our wake, on the other tack, apparently to get out of the range of our fire.

I doubt if we touched a man in the nearest proa. At any rate, no noise proceeded from her, and she came up under our bows fast. As every gun was discharged, and there was not time to load them, all now depended on repelling the boarders. Part of our people mustered in the waist, where it was expected the proa would fall alongside, and part on the forecastle. Just as this distribution was made, the pirates cast their grapnel. It was admirably thrown, but caught only by a ratlin. I saw this, and was about to jump into the rigging to try what I could do to clear it, when Neb again went ahead of me, and cut the ratlin with his knife. This was just as the pirates had abandoned sails and oars, and had risen to haul up alongside. So sudden was the release, that twenty of them fell over by their own efforts. In this state the ship passed ahead, all her canvas being full, leaving the proa motionless in her wake. In passing, however, the two vessels were so near, that those aft in the *John* distinctly saw the swarthy faces of their enemies.

We were no sooner clear of the proas than the order was given, "Ready about!" The helm was put down, and the ship came into the wind in a minute. As we came square with the two proas, all our larboard guns were given to them, and this ended the affair. I think the nearest of the rascals got it this time, for away she went, after her con-

sort, both running off toward the islands. We made a little show of chasing, but it was only a feint; for we were too glad to get away from them, to be in earnest. In ten minutes after we tacked the last time, we ceased firing, having thrown some eight or ten round-shot after the proas, and were close-hauled again, heading to the southwest.

THE WONDERFUL FIGHT OF THE
EXCHANGE OF BRISTOL WITH
THE PIRATES OF ALGIERS *

SAMUEL PURCHAS

IN the yeere 1621, the first of November, there was one *Iohn Rawlins*, borne in *Rochester*, and dwelling three and twenty yeere in *Plimmoth*, imployed to the Strait of *Gibraltar*, by Master *Richard*, and *Steven Treviles*, Merchants of *Plimmoth*, and fraighted in a Barke, called the *Nicholas* of *Plimmoth*, of the burden of forty Tun, which had also in her company another ship of *Plimmoth*, called the *George Benaventure* of seventy Tun burthen, or thereabouts; which by reason of her greatnesse beyond the other, I will name the *Admirall*; and *Iohn Rawlins* Barke shall, if you please, be the *Vice-admirall*. These two according to the time of the yeere, had a faire passage, and by the eighteenth of the same moneth came to a place at the entring of the straits, named *Trafflegar*: but the next morning, being in the sight of *Gibraltar*, at the very mouth of the straits, the watch descried five saile of ships, who as it seemed, used all the means they could to come neere us, and we as we had cause, used the

* From *Purchas, His Pilgrims*.

same means to go as farre from them: yet did their *Admirall* take in both his top sailes, that either we might not suspect them, or that his owne company might come up the closer together. At last perceiving us *Christians*, they fell from devices to apparent discovery of hostility, and making out against us: we againe suspecting them *Pirats*, tooke our course to escape from them, and made all the sailes we possibly could for *Tirriff*, or *Gibraltar*: but all we could doe, could not prevent their approach. For suddenly one of them came right over against us to wind-ward, and so fell upon our quarter: another came upon our luffe, and so threatened us there, and at last all five chased us, making great speed to surprise us.

Their *Admirall* was called *Callfater*, having upon her maine top-saile, two top-gallant sailes, one above another. But whereas we thought them all five to be *Turkish* ships of war, we afterwards understood, that two of them were their prizes, the one a smal ship of *London*, the other of the West-countrey, that came out of the *Quactath* laden with figges, and other Merchandise, but now subiect to the fortune of the Sea, and the captivity of *Pirats*. But to our businesse. Three of these ships got much upon us, and so much that ere halfe the day was spent, the *Admirall* who was the best sailer, fetcht up the *George Bonaventure*, and made booty of it. The *Vice-Admirall* againe being neerest unto the lesser Barke, whereof *Iohn Rawlins* was Master, shewed

him the force of a stronger arme, and by his *Turkish* name, called *Villa-Rise*, commanded him in like sort to strike his sailes, and submit to his mercy, which not to be gaine-saied nor prevented, was quickly done: and so *Rawlins* with his Barke was quickly taken, although the *Reare-Admirall* being the worst sayler of the three, called *Reggiprise*, came not in, till all was done.

The same day before night, the *Admirall* either loth to pester himsele with too much company, or ignorant of the commodity that was to be made by the sale of *English* prisoners, or daring not to trust them in his company, for feare of mutinies, and exciting others to rebellion; set twelve persons who were in the *George Bonaventure* on the land, and divers other *English*, whom he had taken before, to trie their fortunes in an unknowne Countrey. But *Villa-Rise*, the *Vice-Admirall* that had taken *Iohn Rawlins*, would not so dispence with his men, but commanded him and five more of his company to be brought aboard his ship, leaving in his Barke three men and his boy, with thirteene *Turkes* and *Moores*, who were questionlesse sufficient to over-master the other, and direct the Barke to Harbour. Thus they sailed directly for *Algier*; but the night following, followed them with great tempest and foule weather, which ended not without some effect of a storme: for they lost the sight of *Rawlins* Barke, called the *Nicholas*, and in a manner lost themselves, though they seemed safe a shipboord, by

fearfull coniecturing what should become of us: at last, by the two and twentieth of the same moneth, they, or we (chuse you whether) arrived at *Algier*, and came in safety within the Mould, but found not our other Barke there; nay, though we earnestly inquired after the same, yet heard we nothing to our satisfaction; but much matter was ministred to our discomfort and amazement. For although the Capitaine and our over-seers, were loth we should have any conference with our Country-men; yet did we adventure to informe ourselves of the present affaires, both of the Towne, and the shipping: so that finding many *English* at worke in other ships, they spared not to tell us the danger we were in, and the mischiefes we must needs incurre, as being sure if we were not used like slaves, to be sold as slaves; for there had beene five hundred brought into the market for the same purpose, and above a hundred handsome youths compelled to turne *Turkes*, or made subiect to more viler prostitution, and all *English*: yet like good *Christians*, they bade us be of good cheere, and comfort ourselves in this, that Gods trials were gentle purgations, and these crosses were but to cleanse the drosse from the gold, and bring us out of the fire againe more cleare and lovely. Yet I must needs confesse, that they afforded us reason for this cruelty, as if they determined to be revenged of our last attempt to fire their ships in the Mould, and therefore protested to spare none whom they could surprise and take

alive; but either to sell them for money, or torment them to serve their owne turnes. Now their customes and usages in both these was in this manner.

First, concerning the first. The *Bashaw* had the over-seeing of all prisoners, who were presented unto him at their first comming into the harbour, and to choose one out of every eight for a present or fee to himselfe: the rest were rated by the Captaines, and so sent to the Market to be sold; whereat if either there were repining, or any drawing backe, then certaine *Moores* and Officers attended either to beate you forward, or thrust you into the sides with Goades; and this was the manner of the selling of Slaves.

Secondly, concerning their enforcing them, either to turne *Turke*, or to attend their filthines and impieties, although it would make a Christians heart bleed to heare of the same, yet must the truth not be hid, nor the terror left untold. They commonly lay them on their naked backs or bellies, beating them so long, till they bleed at the nose and mouth; and if yet they continue constant, then they strike the teeth out of their heads, pinch them by their tongues, and use many other sorts of tortures to convert them; nay, many times they lay them their whole length in the ground like a grave, and so cover them with boords, threatening to starve them, if they will not turne; and so many even for feare of torment and death, make their tongues betray their hearts to a most fearefull wickednesse, and so

are circumcised with new names, and brought to confesse a new Religion. Others againe, I must confesse, who never knew any God, but their own sensuall lusts and pleasures, thought that any religion would serve their turnes, and so for preferment or wealth very voluntarily renounced their faith, and became *Renegadoes* in despite of any counsell which seemed to intercept them: and this was the first newes wee encountred with at our comming first to *Algier*.

The 26. of the same moneth, *Iohn Rawlins* his Barke, with his other three men and a boy, came safe into the Mould, and so were put all together to be carried before the *Bashaw*, but that they tooke the Owners servant, and *Rawlins* Boy, and by force and torment compelled them to turne *Turkes*: then were they in all seven *English*, besides *Iohn Rawlins*, of whom the *Bashaw* tooke one, and sent the rest to their Captaines, who set a valuation upon them, and so the Souldiers hurried us like dogs into the Market, whereas men sell Hacknies in *England*. We were tossed up and downe to see who would give most for us; and although we had heavy hearts, and looked with sad countenances, yet many came to behold us, sometimes taking us by the hand, sometimes turning us round about, sometimes feeling our brawnes and naked armes, and so beholding our prices written on our breasts, they bargained for us accordingly, and at last we were all sold, and the

Souldiers returned with the money to their Capitaines.

Iohn Rawlins was the last who was sold, by reason of his lame hand, and bought by the Capitaine that tooke him, even that dog *Villa Rise*, who better informing himselfe of his skill fit to be a Pilot, and his experience to bee an over-seer, bought him and his Carpenter at very easie rates. For as we afterwards understood by divers *English Renegadoes*, he paid for *Rawlins* but one hundred and fiftie Dooblets, which make of *English* money seven pound ten shilling. Thus was he and his Carpenter with divers other slaves sent into his ship to worke, and imployed about such affaires, as belonged to the well rigging and preparing the same. But the villanous *Turkes* perceiving his lame hand, and that he could not performe so much as other Slaves, quickly complained to their Patron, who as quickly apprehended the inconvenience; whereupon hee sent for him the next day, and told him he was unserviceable for his present purpose, and therefore unlesse he could procure fifteene pound of the *English* there for his ransome, he would send him up into the Countrey, where he should never see *Christendome* againe, and endure the extremity of a miserable banishment.

But see how God worketh all for the best for his servants, and confounded the presumption of Tyrants, frustrating their purposes, to make his wonders knowne to the sonnes of men, and releeves his

people, when they least thinke of succour and releasement. Whilest *John Rawlins* was thus terrified with the dogged answeere of *Villa Rise*, the *Exchange of Bristow*,* a ship formerly surprised by the Pirats, lay all unriggered in the Harbour, till at last one *John Goodale*, an *English Turke*, with his confederates, understanding shee was a good sailer, and might be made a proper Man of Warre, bought her from the *Turkes* that tooke her, and prepared her for their owne purpose. Now the *Captaine* that set them at worke, was also an *English Renegado*, by the name of *Rammetham Rise*, but by his Christian name *Henrie Chandler*, who resolved to make *Goodale* Master over her; and because they were both *English Turkes*, having the command notwithstanding of many *Turkes* and *Moores*, they concluded to have all *English* slaves to goe in her, and for their Gunners, *English* and *Dutch Renegadoes*, and so they agreed with the Patrons of nine *English* and one *French* Slave for their ransoms, who were presently imployed to rig and furnish the ship for a Man of Warre, and while they were thus busied, two of *John Rawlins* men, who were taken with him, were also taken up to serve in this Man of Warre, their names, *Iames Roe*, and *John Davies*, the one dwelling in *Plimmoth*, and the other in *Foy*, where the Commander of this ship was also borne, by which occasion they came acquainted, so that both the *Captaine*, and the Master promised them good usage,

* *Bristol*.

upon the good service they should performe in the voyage, and withall demanded of them, if they knew of any *Englishman* to be bought, that could serve as a Pilot, both to direct them out of Harbour, and conduct them in their voyage. For in truth neither was the Captaine a Mariner, nor any *Turke* in her of sufficiency to dispose of her through the Straites in securitie, nor oppose any enemie, that should hold it out bravely against them. *Davies* quickly replied, that as farre as he understood, *Villa Rise* would sell *Iohn Rawlins* his Master, and Commander of the Barke which was taken, a man every way sufficient for Sea affaires, being of great resolution and good experience; and for all he had a lame hand, yet had he a sound heart and noble courage for any attempt or adventure.

When the Captaine understood thus much, he imployed *Davies* to search for Rawlins, who at last lighting upon him, asked him if the *Turke* would sell him: *Rawlins* suddenly answered, that by reason of his lame hand he was willing to part with him; but because he had disbursed money for him, he would gaine something by him, and so prized him at three hundred Dooblets, which amounteth to fifteene pound *English*; which he must procure, or incurresorer indurances. When *Davies* had certified this much, the *Turkes* a ship-boord conferred about the matter, and the Master whose Christen name was *Iohn Goodale* joyned with two *Turkes*, who were consorted with him, and disbursed one hundred

Dooblets a piece, and so bought him of *Villa Rise*, sending him into the said ship, called the *Exchange* of *Bristow*, as well to supervise what had been done, as to order what was left undone, but especially to fit the sailes, and to accommodate the ship, all which *Rawlins* was very carefull and dilligent in, not yet thinking of any peculiar plot of deliverance, more than a generall desire to be freed from this *Turkish* slaverie, and inhumane abuses.

By the seventh of Januarie, the ship was prepared with twelve good cast Pieces, and all manner of munition and provision, which belonged to such a purpose, and the same day haled out of the Mould of *Algier*, with this company, and in this manner.

There were in her sixtie three *Turkes* and *Moores*, nine *English* slaves, and one *French*, foure *Hollanders* that were free men, to whom the *Turkes* promised one prise or other, and so to returne to *Holland*; or if they were disposed to goe backe againe for *Algier*, they should have great reward and no enforcement offered, but continue as they would, both their religion and their customes: and for their Gunners they had two of our Souldiers, one *English* and one *Dutch* Renegado; and thus much for the companie. For the manner of setting out, it was as usuall as in other ships, but that the *Turkes* delighted in the ostentous braverie of their Streamers, Banners, and Top-sayles; the ship being a handsome ship, and well built for any purpose. The Slaves and *English* were employed under

Hatches about the Ordnance, and other workes of order, and accommodating themselves: all which *John Rawlins* marked, as supposing it an intolerable slaverie to take such paines, and be subiect to such dangers, and still to enrich other men and maintaine their voluptuous filthinesse and lives, returning *themselves* as Slaves, and living worse than their Dogs amongst them. Whereupon hee burst out into these, or the like abrupt speeches: "Oh Hellish slaverie to be thus subiect to Dogs! Oh, God strengthen my heart and hand, that something shall be done to ease us of these mischiefs, and deliver us from these cruell *Mahumetan* Dogs. The other Slaves pittying his distraction (as they thought) bad him speake softly, lest they should all fare the worse for his distemperature. The worse (quoth *Rawlins*) what can be worse? I will either attempt my deliverance at one time, or another, or perish in the enterprise: but if you would be contented to hearken after a release, and joyne with me in the action, I would not doubt of facilitating the same, and shew you a way to make your credits thrive by some worke of amazement, and augment your glorie in purchasing your libertie." "I prethee be quiet (said they againe) and think not of impossibilities: yet if you can but open such a doore of reason and probabilitie, that we be not condemned for desperate and distracted persons, in pulling the Sunne as it were out of the Firmament, wee can but sacrifice our lives, and you may be sure of secrecie and faithfulnessse."

The fifteenth of Januarie, the morning water brought us neere *Cape de Gatt*, hard by the shoare, we having in our companie a smal *Turkish* ship of Warre, that followed us out of *Algier* the next day, and now ioyning with us, gave us notice of seven small vessels, sixe of them being *Sallees*, and one *Pollack*, who very quickly appeared in sight, and so we made toward them: but having more advantage of the *Pollack*, then the rest, and loth to lose all, we both fetcht her up, and brought her past hope of recoverie, which when she perceived, rather then she would voluntarily come into the slaverie of these *Mahumetans*, she ran her selfe a shoare, and so all the men forsooke her. We still followed as neere as we durst, and for feare of splitting, let fall our anchors, sending out both our boates, wherein were many Musketeers, and some *English* and *Dutch* Renegadoes, who came aboard home at their *Conge*, and found three pieces of Ordnance, and foure Murtherers: but they straightway threw them all over-boord to lighten the ship, and so they got her off, being laden with Hides, and Logwood for dying, and presently sent her to *Algier*, taking nine *Turkes*, and one *English* Slave, out of one ship, and six out of the lesse, which we thought sufficient to man her.

In the rifling of this *Catelaynia*, our *Turkes* fell at variance one with another, and in such a manner, that we divided our selves, the lesser ship returned to *Algier*, and our *Exchange* tooke the opportunitie of the wind, and plyed out of the Streights, which

reioyced *John Rawlins* very much, as resolving on some Stratageme, when opportunities should serve. In the meane-while, the *Turkes* began to murmure, and would not willingly goe into the *Marr Granada*, as the phrase is amongst them: notwithstanding the *Moores* being very *superstitious*, were contented to be directed by their *Hoshea*, who with us, signifieth a Witch, and is of great account and reputation amongst them, as not going in any great Vessell to Sea without one, and observing whatsoever he concludeth out of his Divination. The Ceremonies they use are many, and when they come into the Ocean, every second or third night they make their Conjuratiō; it beginneth and endeth with Prayer, using many Characters, and calling upon God by divers names: yet at this time, all that they did consisted in these particulars.

Upon the sight of two great ships, and as wee were afraid of their chasing us, they beeing supposed to bee *Spanish* men of Warre, a great silence is commanded in the ship, and when all is done, the company giveth as great a skreech; the Captaine coming to *John Rawlins*, and sometimes making him take in all his sayles, and sometimes causing him to hoyst them all out, as the Witch findeth by his Booke, and presages; then have they two Arrowes, and a Curtleaxe, lying upon a Pillow naked; the Arrowes are one for the *Turkes*, and the other for the *Christians*; then the Witch readeth, and the Captaine or some other taketh the Arrowes in their hand by

the heads, and if the Arrow for the Christians cometh over the head of the Arrow for the *Turkes*, then doe they advance their sayles, and will not endure the fight, whatsoever they see: but if the Arrow of the *Turkes* is found in the opening of the hand upon the Arrow of the Christians, then will they stay and encounter with any shippe whatsoever. The Curtlexe is taken up by some Childe, that is innocent, or rather ignorant of the Ceremonic, and so layd downe againe; then doe they observe, whether the same side is uppermost, which lay before, and so proceed accordingly.

They also observe Lunatickes and Changelings, and the Coniurer writeth downe their Sayings in a Booke, groveling on the ground, as if he whispered to the Devil to tell him the truth, and so expoundeth the Letter, as it were by inspiration. Many other foolish Rites they have, whereupon they doe dote as foolishly.

Whilest he was busied, and made demonstration that all was finished, the people in the ship gave a great shout, and cryed out, "a sayle, a sayle," which at last was discovered to bee another man of Warre of *Turkes*. For he made toward us, and sent his Boat aboard us, to whom our Captain complained, that being becalmed by the Southerne Cape, and having made no Voyage, the *Turkes* denyed to goe any further Northward: but the Captaine resolved not to returne to *Algier*, except he could obtayne some Prize worthy his endurances, but rather to goe

to *Salle*, and tell his Christians to victuall his ship; which the other Captaine apprehended for his honour, and so perswaded the *Turkes* to be obedient unto him; whereupon followed a pacification amongst us, and so that *Turke* tooke his course for the Streights, and wee put up Northward, expecting the good houre of some beneficiall bootie.

All this while our slavery continued, and the *Turkes* with insulting tyrannie set us still on worke in all base and servile actions, adding stripes and inhumane revilings, even in our greatest labour, whereupon *Iohn Rawlins* resolved to obtane his libertie, and surprize the ship; providing Ropes with broad spikes of Iron, and all the Iron Crowes, with which hee knew a way, upon consent of the rest, to ramme up or tye fast their Scuttels, Gratings, and Cabbins, yea, to shut up the Captaine himselfe with all his consorts, and so to handle the matter, that upon the watch-word given, the *English* being Masters of the Gunner roome, Ordnance, and Powder, they would eyther blow them into the Ayre, or kill them as they adventured to come downe one by one, if they should by any chance open their Cabbins. But because hee would proceed the better in his enterprise, as he had somewhat abruptly discovered himselfe to the nine *English* slaves, so he kept the same distance with the foure *Hollanders*, that were free men, till finding them comming somewhat toward them, he acquainted them with the whole Conspiracie, and they affecting

the Plot, offered the adventure of their lives in the businesse. Then very warily he undermined the *English Renegado*, which was the Gunner, and three more his Associats, who at first seemed to retract. Last of all were brought in the *Dutch Renegadoes*, who were also in the Gunner roome, for alwayes there lay twelve there, five Christians, and seven *English*, and *Dutch Turkes*: so that when another motion had settled their resolutions, and *Iohn Rawlins* his constancie had put new life as it were in the matter, the foure *Hollanders* very honestly, according to their promise, sounded the *Dutch Renegadoes*, who with easie perswasion gave their consent to so brave an Enterprize; whereupon *Iohn Rawlins*, not caring whether the *English* Gunners would yeeld or no, resolved in the Captaines morning watch, to make the attempt. But you must understand that where the *English* slaves lay, there hung up alwayes foure or five Crowes of Iron, being still under the carriages of the Peeces, and when the time approached being very darke, because *Iohn Rawlins* would have his Crow of Iron ready as other things were, and other men prepared in their severall places, in taking it out of the carriage, by chance, it hit on the side of the Peece, making such a noyse, that the Souldiers hearing it awaked the *Turkes*, and bade them come downe: whereupon the Botesane of the *Turkes* descended with a Candle, and presently searched all the slaves places, making much adoe of the matter, but finding neyther

Hatchet nor Hammer, nor any thing else to move suspicion of the Enterprize, more then the Crow of Iron, which lay slipped downe under the carriages of the Peeces, they went quietly up againe, and certified the Captaine what had chanced, who satisfied himselfe, that it was a common thing to have a Crow of Iron slip from its place. But by this occasion wee made stay of our attempt, yet were resolved to take another or a better oportunitie.

For we sayled still more North-ward, and *Rawlins* had more time to tamper with his Gunners, and the rest of the *English* Renegadoes, who very willingly, when they considered the matter, and perpended the reasons, gave way unto the Proiect, and with a kind of joy seemed to entertayne the motives: only they made a stop at the first on-set, who should begin the enterprize, which was no way fit for them to doe, because they were no slaves, but Renegadoes, and so had always beneficiall entertaynment amongst them. But when it is once put in practice, they would be sure not to faile them, but venture their lives for God and their Countrey. But once againe he is disappointed, and a suspitious accident brought him to recollect his spirits anew, and studie on the danger of the enterprize, and thus it was. After the Renegado Gunner, had protested secrecie by all that might induce a man to bestow some beliefe upon him, he presently went up the Scottle, but stayed not aloft a quarter of an houre; nay he came sooner down, & in the Gunner roome sate by *Raw-*

lins, who tarried for him where he left him: he was no sooner placed, and entred into some conference, but there entred into the place a furious *Turke*, with his Knife drawne, and presented it to *Rawlins* his body, who verily supposed, he intended to kill him, as suspitious that the Gunner had discovered something, whereat *Rawlins* was much moved, and hastily asked what the matter meant, and whether he would kill him, observing his companion's countenance to change colour, whereby his suspitious heart, condemned him for a Traytor: but at more leisure he sware the contrary, and afterward proved faithfull and industrious in the enterprize. For the present, he answered *Rawlins* in this manner, "no Master, be not afraid, I thinke hee doth but iest." With that *John Rawlins* gave backe a little and drew out his Knife, stepping also to the Gunners sheath and taking out his, whereby he had two Knives to one, which when the *Turke* perceived, he threw downe his Knife, saying, hee did but iest with him. But when the Gunner perceived, *Rawlins* tooke it so ill, hee whispered something in his eare, that at last satisfied him, calling Heaven to witnesse, that he never spake word of the Enterprize, nor ever would, either to the preiudice of the businesse, or danger of his person. Notwithstanding, *Rawlins* kept the Knives in his sleeve all night, and was somewhat troubled, for that hee had made so many acquainted with an action of such importance; but the next day, when hee perceived the Coast cleere,

and that there was no cause of further feare, hee somewhat comforted himselfe.

All this while, *Rawlins* drew the Captaine to lye for the Northerne Cape, assuring him, that thereby he should not misse a prize, which accordingly fell out, as a wish would have it: but his drift was in truth to draw him from any supply, or help of *Turkes*, if God should give way to their Enterprize, or successe to the victorie: yet for the present the sixth of February, being twelve leagues from the Cape, wee descryed a sayle, and presently took the advantage of the wind in chasing her, and at last fetched her up, making her strike all her sayles, whereby wee knew her to be a Barke belonging to *Tor Bay*, neere *Dartmouth*, that came from *Auerure* laden with Salt. Ere we had fully dispatched, it chanced to be foule weather, so that we could not, or at least *would not* make out our Boat, but caused the Master of the Barke to let downe his, and come aboard with his Company, being in the Barke but nine men, and one Boy; and so the Master leaving his Mate with two men in the ship, came himselfe with five men, and the boy unto us, whereupon our *Turkish* Captain sent ten *Turkes* to man her, amongst whom were two *Dutch*, and one English Renegado, who were of our confederacie, and acquainted with the businesse.

But when *Rawlins* saw this partition of his friends; before they could hoyst out their Boat for the Barke, he made meanes to speake with them,

and told them plainly, that he would prosecute the matter eyther that night, or the next and therefore whatsoever came of it they should acquaint the *English* with his resolution, and make toward *England*, bearing up the helme, whiles the *Turkes* slept, and suspected no such matter: for by Gods grace in his first watch about mid-night, he would shew them a light, by which they might understand, that the Enterprize was begunne, or at least in a good forwardnesse for the execution: and so the Boat was let downe, and they came to the Barke of *Tor Bay*, where the Masters Mate beeing left (as before you have heard) apprehended quickly the matter, and heard the Discourse with amazement. But time was precious, and not to be spent in disputing, or casting of doubts, whether the *Turkes* that were with them were able to master them, or no, beeing seven to sixe, considering they had the helme of the ship, and the *Turkes* being Souldiers, and ignorant of Sea Affaires, could not discover, whether they went to *Algier* or no; or if they did, they resolved by *Rawlins* example to cut their throats, or cast them over-board: and so I leave them to make use of the Renegadoes instructions, and returne to *Rawlins* againe.

The Master of the Barke of *Tor Bay*, and his Company were quickly searched, and as quickly pillaged, and dismissed to the libertie of the shippe, whereby *Rawlins* had leisure to entertayne him with the lamentable newes of their extremities, and in a

word, of every particular which was befitting to the purpose: yea, he told him, that that night he should lose the sight of them, for they would make the helme for *England* and hee would that night and evermore pray for their good successe, and safe deliverance.

When the Master of the Barke of *Tor Bay* had heard him out, and that his company were partakers of his Storie, they became all silent, not eyther diffident of his Discourse, or afraid of the attempt, but resolved to assist him. Yet to shew himselfe an understanding man, hee demanded of *Rawlins*, what weapons he had, and in what manner he would execute the businesse: to which he answered, that he had Ropes, and Iron Hookes to make fast the Scottels, Gratings, and Cabbines, he had also in the Gunner roome two Curtleaxes, and the slaves had five Crowes of Iron before them: Besides, in the scuffling they made no question of some of the Souldiers weapons. Then for the manner, hee told them, they were sure of the Ordnance, the Gunner roome, and the Powder, and so blocking them up, would eyther kill them as they came downe, or turne the Ordnance against their Cabins, or blow them into the Ayre by one Strategeme or other; and thus were they contented on all sides, and resolved to the Enterprize.

The next morning, being the seventh of February, the Prize of *Tor Bay* was not to bee seene or found, whereat the Captaine began to storne

and sweare, commanding *Rawlins* to search the Seas up and downe for her, who bestowed all that day in the businesse, but to little purpose: where-upon when the humour was spent, the Captaine pacified himselfe, as conceiting he should sure find her at *Algier*: but by the permission of the Ruler of all actions, that *Algier* was England, and all his wickednesse frustrated: for *Rawlins* beeing now startled, lest hee should returne in this humour for the Streights, on the eight of February went downe into the hold, and finding a great deale of water below, told the Captaine of the same, adding, that it did not come to the Pumpe, which he said very politickly, that he might remove the Ordnance. For when the Captaine askt him the reason, he told him the ship was too farre after the head: then hee commanded to use the best meanes he could to bring her in order: "sure then," quoth *Rawlins*, "wee must quit our Cables, and bring foure Peeces of Ordnance after, and that would bring the water to the Pumpe;" which was presently put in practice, so the Peeces beeing usually made fast thwart the ship, we brought two of them with their mouthes right before the Binnacle, and because the Renegadoe *Flemmings* would not begin, it was thus concluded: that the ship having three Deckes, wee that did belong to the Gunner roome should bee all there, and breake up the lower Decke. The *English* slaves, who always lay in the middle Decks, should doe the like, and watch the Scuttels: *Rawlins* himselfe pre-

vayled with the Gunner, for so much Powder, as should prime the Peeces, and so told them all there was no better watch-word, nor meanes to begin, then upon the report of the Peece to make a cry and shout, for God, and King *Iames*, and Saint *George* for *England*!

When all things were prepared, and every man resolved, as knowing what hee had to doe, and the houre when it should happen, to be two in the after-noone, *Rawlins* advised the Master Gunner to speake to the Captaine, that the Souldiers might attend on the Poope, which would bring the ship after: to which the Captaine was very willing, and upon the Gunners information, the Souldiers gat themselves to the Poope, to the number of twentie, and five or sixe went into the Captaines Cabbin, where always lay divers Curtleaxes, and some Targets, and so wee fell to worke to pompe the water, and carryed the matter fairely till the next day, which was spent as the former, being the ninth of February, and as God must have the prayse, the triumph of our victorie.

For by that time all things were prepared, and the Souldiers got upon the Poope as the day before: to avoid suspition, all that did belong to the Gunner-roome went downe, and the slaves in the middle decke attended their business, so that we could cast up our account in this manner. First, nine *English* slaves, besides *Iohn Rawlins*: five of the *Tor Bay* men, and one boy, foure *English* Renegadoes, and

two *French*, foure *Hollanders*: in all four and twenty and a boy: so that lifting up our hearts and hands to God for the successe of the businesse, we were wonderfully encouraged; and settled our selves, till the report of the peece gave us warning of the enterprise. Now, you must consider, that in this company were two of *Rawlins* men, *Iames Roe*, and *Iohn Davies*, whom he brought out of *England*, and whom the fortune of the Sea brought into the same predicament with their Master. These were imployed about noone (being as I said, the ninth of February) to prepare their matches, while all the *Turkes* or at least most of them stood on the Poope, to weigh down the ship as it were, to bring the water forward to the Pumpe: the one brought his match lighted betweene two spoons, the other brought his in a little peece of a Can: and so in the name of God, the *Turkes* and *Moores* being placed as you have heard, and five and forty in number, and *Rawlins* having proined the Tuch-holes, *Iames Roe* gave fire to one of the peeces, about two of the clocke in the afternoone, and the confederates upon the warning, shouted most cheerefully: the report of the peece did teare and breake down all the Binnacle, and compasses, and the noise of the slaves made all the Souldiers amased at the matter, till seeing the quarter of the ship rent, and feeling the whole body to shake under them: understanding the ship was surprised, and the attempt tended to their utter destruction, never Beare robbed of her whelpes

was so fell and mad: For they not onely cald us dogs, and cried out, *Usance de Lamair*, which is as much to say, the Fortune of the wars: but attempted to teare up the planckes, setting a worke hammers, hatchets, knives, the oares of the Boate, the Boat-hooke, their curtlexes, and what else came to hand, besides stones and bricke in the Cooke-roome, all which they threw amongst us, attempting still and still to breake and rip up the hatches, and boords of the steering, not desisting from their former execrations, and horrible blasphemies and revilings.

When *Iohn Rawlins* perceived them so violent, and understood how the slaves had cleared the deckes of all the *Turkes* and *Moores* beneath, he set a guard upon the Powder, and charged their owne Muskets against them, killing them from divers scout-holes, both before and behind, and so lessened their number, to the ioy of all our hearts, whereupon they cried out, and called for the Pilot, and so *Rawlins*, with some to guard him, went to them, and understood them by their kneeling, that they cried for mercy, and to have their lives saved, and they would come downe, which he bade them doe, and so they were taken one by one, and bound, yea killed with their owne Curtlexes; which when the rest perceived, they called us *English* dogs, and reviled us with many opprobrious termes, some leaping over-boord, crying, it was the chance of war; some were manacled, and so throwne over-

boord, and some were slaine and mangled with the Curtleaxes, till the ship was well cleared, and our selves assured of the victory.

At the first report of our Peece, and hurliburly in the decks, the Captaine was a writing in his Cabin, and hearing the noyse, thought it some strange accident, and so came out with his Curtleaxe in his hand, presuming by his authority to pacifie the mischief: But when hee cast his eyes upon us, and saw that we were like to surprise the ship, he threw downe his Curtleaxe, and begged us to save his life, intimating unto *Rawlins*, how he had redeemed him from *Villa-Rise*, and ever since admitted him to place of command in the ship, besides honest usage in the whole course of the Voyage. All which *Rawlins* confessed, and at last condescended to mercy, and brought the Captaine and five more into *England*. The Captain was called *Ramtham-Rise*, but his Christen name, *Henry Chandler*, and as they say, was a Chandler's sonne in Southwarke. *Iohn Goodale*, was also an *English Turke*. *Richard Clarke*, in *Turkish*, *Iafar*; *George Cooke*, *Ramdam*; *Iohn Browne*, *Mamme*; *William Winter*, *Mustapha*; besides all the slaves and *Hollanders*, with other Renegadoes, who were willing to be reconciled to their true Saviour, as being formerly seduced with the hopes of riches, honour, preferment, and such like devillish baits, to catch the soules of mortall men, and entangle frailty in the fetters of horrible abuses, and imposturing deceit.

When all was done, and the ship cleared of the dead bodies, *Iohn Rawlins* assembled his men together, and with one consent gave the praise unto God, using the accustomed service on ship-board, and for want of bookes lifted up their voyces to God, as he put into their hearts, or renewed their memories: then did they sing a Psalme, and last of all, embraced one another for playing the men in such a Deliverance, whereby our feare was turned into joy, and trembling hearts exhilirated, that we had escaped such inevitable dangers, and especially the slavery and terror of bondage, worse than death it selfe. The same night we washed our ship, put every thing in as good order as we could, repaired the broken quarter, set up the Binnacle, and bore up the Helme for *England*, where by Gods grace and good guiding, we arrived at *Plimmoth*, the thirteenth of February, and were welcommed like the recovery of the lost sheepe, or as you read of a loving mother, that runneth with embraces to entertaine her sonne from a long Voyage and escape of many dangers.

Not long after we understood of our confederats, that returned home in the Barke of *Torbay*, that they arrived in *Pensance* in *Corne-wall* the eleventh of February: and if any aske after their deliverance, considering there were ten *Turkes* sent to man her, I will tell you that too: the next day after they lost us, as you have heard and that the three Renegadoes had acquainted the Masters

Mate, and the two *English* in her with *Rawlins* determination, and that they themselves would be true to them, and assist them in any enterprise: then if the worst came, there were but seven to sixe: but as it fell out, they had a more easie passage, then turmoile, or man-slaughter. For they made the *Turkes* beleeeve, the wind was come faire, and that they were sayling to *Algier*, till they came within sight of *England*, which one of them amongst the rest discovered, saying plainely, that that land was not like *Cape Vincent*; "yes faith," said he, that was at the Helme, "and you will be contented, and goe downe into the hold, and trim the salt over to windward, whereby the ship may beare full saile, you shall know and see more to morrow": Whereupon five of them went downe very orderly, the Renegadoes faining themselves asleep, who presently start up, and with the helpe of the two *English*, nailed downe the hatches, whereat the principall amongst them much repined, and began to grow into choller and rage, had it not quickly beene suppressed. For one of them stepped to him, and dasht out his braines, and threw him over-boord: the rest were brought to *Excester*, and either to be arraigned, according to the punishment of delinquents in such a kind, or disposed of, as the King and Counsell shall thinke meet and this is the story of this deliverance, and end of *Iohn Rawlins* Voyage. The Actors in this Comick Tragedie are most of them alive; The *Turkes* are in prison; the ship is to be seene, and *Rawlins* himselfe dare justifie the matter.

THE DAUGHTER OF THE GREAT MOGUL *

DANIEL DEFOE

IN this time I pursued my voyage, coasted the whole Malabar shore, and met with no purchase but a great Portugal East India ship, which I chased into Goa, where she got out of my reach. I took several small vessels and barks, but little of value in them, till I entered the great Bay of Bengal, when I began to look about me with more expectation of success, though without prospect of what happened.

I cruised here about two months, finding nothing worth while; so I stood away to a port on the north point of the isle of Sumatra, where I made no stay; for here I got news that two large ships belonging to the Great Mogul were expected to cross the bay from Hoogly, in the Ganges, to the country of the King of Pegu, being to carry the granddaughter of the Great Mogul to Pegu, who was to be married to the king of that country, with all her retinue, jewels, and wealth.

This was a booty worth watching for, though it had been some months longer; so I resolved that

* From *The King of the Pirates*.

we would go and cruise off Point Negaris, on the east side of the bay, near Diamond Isle; and here we plied off and on for three weeks, and began to despair of success; but the knowledge of the booty we expected spurred us on, and we waited with great patience, for we knew the prize would be immensely rich.

At length we spied three ships coming right up to us with the wind. We could easily see they were not Europeans by their sails, and began to prepare ourselves for a prize, not for a fight; but were a little disappointed when we found the first ship full of guns and full of soldiers, and in condition, had she been managed by English sailors, to have fought two such ships as ours were. However, we resolved to attack her if she had been full of devils as she was full of men.

Accordingly, when we came near them, we fired a gun with shot as a challenge. They fired again immediately three or four guns, but fired them so confusedly that we could easily see they did not understand their business; when we considered how to lay them on board, and so to come thwart them, if we could; but falling, for want of wind, open to them, we gave them a fair broadside. We could easily see, by the confusion that was on board, that they were frightened out of their wits; they fired here a gun and there a gun, and some on that side that was from us, as well as those that were next to us. The next thing we did was to lay them on board, which

we did presently, and then gave them a volley of our small shot, which, as they stood so thick, killed a great many of them, and made all the rest run down under their hatches, crying out like creatures bewitched. In a word, we presently took the ship, and having secured her men, we chased the other two. One was chiefly filled with women, and the other with lumber. Upon the whole, as the granddaughter of the Great Mogul was our prize in the first ship, so in the second was her women, or, in a word, her household, her eunuchs, all the necessities of her wardrobe, of her stables, and of her kitchen; and in the last, great quantities of household stuff, and things less costly, though not less useful.

But the first was the main prize. When my men had entered and mastered the ship, one of our lieutenants called for me, and accordingly I jumped on board. He told me he thought nobody but I ought to go into the great cabin, or, at least, nobody should go there before me; for that the lady herself and all her attendance was there, and he feared the men were so heated they would murder them all, or do worse.

I immediately went to the great cabin door, taking the lieutenant that called me along with me, and caused the cabin door to be opened. But such a sight of glory and misery was never seen by buccaneer before. The queen (for such she was to have been) was all in gold and silver, but frightened and crying, and, at the sight of me, she appeared

trembling, and just as if she was going to die. She sat on the side of a kind of a bed like a couch, with no canopy over it, or any covering; only made to lie down upon. She was, in a manner, covered with diamonds, and I, like a true pirate, soon let her see that I had more mind to the jewels than to the lady.

However, before I touched her, I ordered the lieutenant to place a guard at the cabin door, and fastening the door, shut us both in, which he did. The lady was young, and, I suppose, in their country esteem, very handsome, but she was not very much so in my thoughts. At first, her fright, and the danger she thought she was in of being killed, taught her to do everything that she thought might interpose between her and danger, and that was to take off her jewels as fast as she could, and give them to me; and I, without any great compliment, took them as fast as she gave them me, and put them into my pocket, taking no great notice of them or of her, which frightened her worse than all the rest, and she said something which I could not understand. However, two of the other ladies came, all crying, and kneeled down to me with their hands lifted up. What they meant, I knew not at first; but by their gestures and pointings I found at last it was to beg the young queen's life, and that I would not kill her.

When the three ladies kneeled down to me, and as soon as I understood what it was for, I let them know I would not hurt the queen, nor let any

one else hurt her, but that she must give me all her jewels and money. Upon this they acquainted her that I would save her life; and no sooner had they assured her of that but she got up smiling, and went to a fine Indian cabinet, and opened a private drawer, from whence she took another little thing full of little square drawers and holes. This she brings to me in her hand, and offered to kneel down to give it me. This innocent usage began to rouse some good-nature in me (though I never had much), and I would not let her kneel; but sitting down myself on the side of her couch or bed, made a motion to her to sit down too. But here she was frightened again, it seems, at what I had no thought of. But as I did not offer anything of that kind, only made her sit down by me, they began all to be easier after some time, and she gave me the little box or casket, I know not what to call it, but it was full of invaluable jewels. I have them still in my keeping, and wish they were safe in England; for I doubt not but some of them are fit to be placed on the king's crown.

Being master of this treasure, I was very willing to be good-humored to the persons; so I went out of the cabin, and caused the women to be left alone, causing the guard to be kept still, that they might receive no more injury than I would do them myself.

After I had been out of the cabin some time, a slave of the women's came to me, and made sign to me that the queen would speak with me again. I

made signs back that I would come and dine with her majesty; and accordingly I ordered that her servants should prepare her dinner, and carry it in, and then call me. They provided her repast after the usual manner, and when she saw it brought in she appeared pleased, and more when she saw me come in after it; for she was exceedingly pleased that I had caused a guard to keep the rest of my men from her; and she had, it seems, been told how rude they had been to some of the women that belonged to her.

When I came in, she rose up, and paid me such respect as I did not well know how to receive, and not in the least how to return. If she had understood English, I could have said plainly, and in good rough words, "Madam, be easy; we are rude, rough-hewn fellows, but none of our men should hurt you, or touch you; I will be your guard and protection; we are for money indeed, and we shall take what you have, but we will do you no other harm." But as I could not talk thus to her, I scarce knew what to say; but I sat down, and made signs to have her sit down and eat, which she did, but with so much ceremony that I did not know well what to do with it.

After we had eaten, she rose up again, and drinking some water out of a china cup, sat her down on the side of the couch as before. When she saw I had done eating, she went then to another cabinet, and pulling out a drawer, she brought it to me; it

was full of small pieces of gold coin of Pegu, about as big as an English half-guinea, and I think there were three thousand of them. She opened several other drawers, and showed me the wealth that was in them, and then gave me the key of the whole.

We had revelled thus all day, and part of the next day, in a bottomless sea of riches, when my lieutenant began to tell me, we must consider what to do with our prisoners and the ships, for that there was no subsisting in that manner. Upon this we called a short council, and concluded to carry the great ship away with us, but to put all the prisoners—queen, ladies, and all the rest—into the lesser vessels, and let them go; and so far was I from ravishing this lady, as I hear is reported of me, that though I might rifle her of everything else, yet, I assure you, I let her go untouched for me, or, as I am satisfied, for any one of my men; nay, when we dismissed them, we gave her leave to take a great many things of value with her, which she would have been plundered of if I had not been so careful of her.

We had now wealth enough not only to make us rich, but almost to have made a nation rich; and to tell you the truth, considering the costly things we took here, which we did not know the value of, and besides gold and silver and jewels,—I say, we never knew how rich we were; besides which we had a great quantity of bales of goods, as well calicoes as wrought silks, which, being for sale, were perhaps

as a cargo of goods to answer the bills which might be drawn upon them for the account of the bride's portion; all which fell into our hands, with a great sum in silver coin, too big to talk of among Englishmen, especially while I am living, for reasons which I may give you hereafter.

BARBAROSSA—KING OF THE CORSAIRS *

E. HAMILTON CURREY, R. N.

AT the coming of spring Barbarossa was at sea again with thirty-two ships ready for any eventuality, his crews aflame with ardor for revenge against those by whom they had been so roughly handled. He chose for the scene of operations a place on the coast of Majorca some fifteen miles from Palma; from here he commanded the route of the Spaniards from their country to the African coast, and it was against this nation that he felt a great bitterness owing to recent events. Eagerly did the corsair and his men watch for the Spanish ships, the heavier vessels lying at anchor, but the light, swift galleys ranging and questing afar so that none might be missed. Very soon the vigilance of the Moslems was rewarded by the capture of a number of vessels, sent by Bernard de Mendoza laden with Turkish and Moorish slaves, destined to be utilized as rowers in the Spanish galleys. These men were hailed as a welcome reinforcement, and joyfully joined the forces of Kheyr-ed-Din when he moved on Minorca, captured the castle by a surprise assault, raided the surrounding country, and cap-

* From *Sea Wolves of the Mediterranean*.

tured five thousand seven hundred Christians, amongst whom were eight hundred men who had been wounded in the attack on Tunis—all these unfortunates were sent to refill the bagnio of Algiers.

This private war of revenge was, however, destined soon to come to an end, as Soliman the Magnificent in this year became involved in disputes with the Venetian Republic, and recalled "that veritable man of the sea," as Barbarossa had been described by Ibrahim, to Constantinople.

In this city by the sea there had taken place a tragedy which, although it only involved the death of a single man, was nevertheless far-reaching in its consequences; for the man was none other than that great statesman Ibrahim, Grand Vizier, and the only trusted counsellor of the Padishah. He who had been originally a slave had risen step by step in the favor of his master until he arrived at the giddy eminence which he occupied at the time of his death. It is a somewhat curious commentary on the essentially democratic status of an autocracy that a man could thus rise to a position second only to that of the autocrat himself; and, in all probability, wielding quite as much power.

Ibrahim had for years been treated by Soliman more as a brother than as a dependent, which, in spite of his Grand Viziership, he was in fact. They lived in the very closest communion, taking their meals together, and even sleeping in the same room, Soliman, a man of high intelligence himself, and a

ruler who kept in touch with all the happenings which arose in his immense dominions, desiring always to have at hand the man whom he loved; from whom, with his amazing grip of political problems and endless fertility of resource, he was certain of sympathy and sound advice. But in an oriental despotism there are other forces at work besides those of *la haute politique*, and Ibrahim had one deadly enemy who was sworn to compass his destruction. The Sultana Roxalana was the light of the harem of the Grand Turk. This supremely beautiful woman, originally a Russian slave, was the object of the most passionate devotion on the part of Soliman; but she was as ambitious as she was lovely, and brooked no rival in the affections of Soliman, be that person man, woman, or child. In her hands the master of millions, the despot whose nod was death, became a submissive slave; the undisciplined passions of this headstrong woman swept aside from her path all those whom she suspected of sharing her influence, in no matter how remote a fashion. At her dictation had Soliman caused to be murdered his son Mustafa, a youth of the brightest promise, because, in his intelligence and his winning ways he threatened to eclipse Selim, the son of Roxalana herself.

This woman possessed a strong natural intelligence, albeit she was totally uneducated; she saw and knew that Ibrahim was all-powerful with her lover, and this roused her jealousy to fever-heat.

She was not possessed of a cool judgment, which would have told her that Ibrahim was a statesman dealing with the external affairs of the Sublime Porte, and that with her and with her affairs he neither desired, nor had he the power, to interfere. What, however, the Sultana did know was that in these same affairs of State her opinion was dust in the balance when weighed against that of the Grand Vizier.

Soliman had that true attribute of supreme greatness, the unerring aptitude for the choice of the right man. He had picked out Ibrahim from among his immense entourage, and never once had he regretted his choice. As time went on and the intellect and power of the man became more and more revealed to his master, that sovereign left in his hands even such matters as despots are apt to guard most jealously. We have seen how, in spite of the murmurings of the whole of his capital, and the almost insubordinate attitude of his navy, he had persevered in the appointment of Kheyr-ed-Din Barbarossa, because the judgment of Ibrahim was in favor of its being carried out. This, to Roxalana, was gall and wormwood; well she knew that, as long as the Grand Vizier lived, her sovereignty was at best but a divided one. There was a point at which her blandishments stopped short; this was when she found that her opinion did not coincide with that of the minister. She was, as we have seen in the in-

stance of her son, not a woman to stick at trifles, and she decided that Ibrahim must die.

There could be no hole-and-corner business about this; he must die, and when his murder had been accomplished she would boldly avow to her lover what she had done and take the consequences, believing in her power over him to come scatheless out of the adventure. In those days, when human life was so cheap, she might have asked for the death of almost any one, and her whim would have been gratified by a lover who had not hesitated to put to death his own son at her dictation. But with Ibrahim it was another matter; he was the familiar of the Sultan, his *alter ego* in fact. It says much for the nerve of the Sultana that she dared so greatly on this memorable and lamentable occasion.

On March 5th, 1536, Ibrahim went to the royal seraglio, and, following his ancient custom, was admitted to the table of his master, sleeping after the meal at his side. At least so it was supposed, but none knew save those engaged in the murder what passed on that fatal night; the next day his dead body lay in the house of the Sultan.

Across the floor of jasper, in that palace which was a fitting residence for one rightly known as "The Magnificent," the blood of Ibrahim flowed to the feet of Roxalana. The disordered clothing, the terrible expression of the face of the dead man, the gaping wounds which he had received, bore witness that there had taken place a grim struggle before

that iron frame and splendid intellect had been leveled with the dust. This much leaked out afterwards, as such things will leak out, and then the Sultana took Soliman into her chamber and gazed up into his eyes. The man was stunned by the immensity of the calamity which had befallen him and his kingdom, but his manhood availed him not against the wiles of this Circe. Ibrahim had been foully done to death in his own palace, and this woman clinging so lovingly round his neck now was the murderess. The heart's blood of his best friend was coagulating on the threshold of his own apartment when he forgave her by whom his murder had been accomplished. This was the vengeance of Roxalana, and who shall say that it was not complete?

The Ottoman Empire was the poorer by the loss of its greatest man, the jealousy of the Sultana was assuaged, the despot who had permitted this unavenged murder was still on the throne, thrall to the woman who had first murdered his son and then his friend and minister. But the deed carried with it the evil consequences which were only too likely to occur when so capable a head of the State was removed at so critical a time. Renewed strife was in the air, and endless squabbles between Venice and the Porte were taking place. With these we have no concern, but, in addition to other complaints, there were loud and continuous ones concerning the corsairs. Venice, "The Bride of the Sea," had

neither rest nor peace; the pirates swarmed in Corfu, in Zante, in Candia, in Cephalonia, and the plunder and murder of the subjects of the Republic was the theme of the perpetual representations to the Sultan. The balance of advantage in this guerilla warfare was with the corsairs until Girolame Canale, a Venetian captain, seized one of the Moslem leaders known as "The Young Moor of Alexandria." The victory of Canale was somewhat an important one as he captured the galley of "The Young Moor" and four others; two more were sunk, and three hundred Janissaries and one thousand slaves fell into the hands of the Venetian commander. There being an absence of nice feeling on the part of the Venetians, the Janissaries were at once beheaded to a man.

The whole story is an illustration of the extraordinary relations existing among the Mediterranean States at this time. Soliman the Magnificent, Sultan of Turkey, had lent three hundred of his Janissaries, his own picked troops, to assist the corsairs in their depredations on Venetian commerce. Having done this, and the Janissaries having been caught and summarily and rightly put to death as pirates, the Sultan, as soon as he heard of what had occurred, sent an ambassador, one Yonis Bey, to Venice to demand satisfaction for the insult passed upon him by the beheading of his own soldiers turned pirates. The conclusion of the affair was that the Venetians released "The Young Moor of Alex-

andria" as soon as he was cured of the eight wounds which he had received in the conflict, and sent him back to Africa with such of his galleys as were left. There was one rather comical incident in connection with this affair, which was that when Yonis Bey was on his way from Constantinople to Venice he was chased by a Venetian fleet under the command of the Count Grandenico, and driven ashore. The Count was profuse in his apologies when he discovered that he had been chasing a live ambassador; but the occurrence so exasperated Soliman that he increased his demands in consequence.

Barbarossa, who had spent his time harrying the Spaniards at sea ever since the fall of Tunis, was shortly to appear on the scene again. He received orders from the Sultan, and came as fast as a favoring wind would bring him. Kheyr-ed-Din had been doing well in the matter of slaves and plunder, but he knew that, with the backing of the Grand Turk, he would once again be in command of a fleet in which he might repeat his triumph of past years, and prove himself once more the indispensable "man of the sea."

Soon after his arrival his ambitions were gratified, and he found himself with a fleet of one hundred ships. Since the death of Ibrahim, and the incident which terminated with the dispatch of Yonis Bey to Venice, the relations between the Grand Turk and the Venetian Republic had become steadily worse, and at last the Sultan declared war. On

May 17th, 1537, Soliman, accompanied by his two sons, Selim and Mohammed, left Constantinople. With the campaign conducted by the Sultan we are not concerned here; it was directed against the Ionian Islands, which had been in the possession of Venice since 1401. On August 18th Soliman laid siege to Corfu, and was disastrously beaten, re-embarking his men on September 7th, after losing thousands in a fruitless attack on the fortress. He returned to Constantinople utterly discomfited. It was the seventh campaign which the Sultan had conducted in person, but the first in which the ever-faithful Ibrahim had not been by his side.

This defeat at the hands of the Venetians was not, however, the only humiliation which he was destined to experience in this disastrous year; for once again Doria, that scourge of the Moslem, was loose upon the seas, and was making his presence felt in the immediate neighborhood of Corfu, where the Turks had been defeated. On July 17th Andrea had left the port of Messina with twenty-five galleys, had captured ten richly laden Turkish ships, gutted and burned them. Kheyr-ed-Din was at sea at the time, but the great rivals were not destined to meet on this occasion. Instead of Barbarossa, Andrea fell in with Ali-Chabelli, the lieutenant of Sandjak Bey of Gallipoli. On July 22nd the Genoese admiral and the Turkish commander from the Dardanelles met to the southward of Corfu, off the small island of Paxo, and a smart action ensued. It

ended in the defeat of Ali-Chabelli, whose galleys were captured and towed by Doria into Paxo. That veteran fighter was himself in the thickest of the fray, and, conspicuous in his crimson doublet, had been an object of attention to the marksmen of Chabelli during the entire action. In spite of the receipt of a severe wound in the knee, the admiral refused to go below until victory was assured. He was surrounded at this time by a devoted band of nobles sworn to defend the person of their admiral or to die in his defense. His portrait has been sketched for us at this time by the Dominican Friar, Padre Alberto Guglielmotto, author of "*La guerra dei Pirati e la marina Pontifica dal 1500 al 1560.*" The description runs thus: "Andrea Doria was of lofty stature, his face oval in shape, forehead broad and commanding, his neck was powerful, his hair short, his beard long and fan-shaped, his lips were thin, his eyes bright and piercing."

Once again had he defeated an officer of the Grand Turk; and it may be remarked that Ibrahim was probably quite right in the estimation, or rather in the lack of estimation, in which he held the sea-officers of his master, as they seem to have been deficient in every quality save that of personal valor, and in their encounters with Doria and the knights were almost invariably worsted. For the sake of Islam, for the prestige of the Moslem arms at sea, it was time that Barbarossa should take matters in hand once more.

The autumn of this year 1537 proved that the old Sea-wolf had lost none of his cunning, that his followers were as terrible as ever. What did it seem to matter that Venetian and Catalan, Genoese and Frenchman, Andalusian and the dwellers in the Archipelago, were all banded together in league against this common foe? Did not the redoubtable Andrea range the seas in vain, and were not all the efforts of the Knights of Saint John futile, when the son of the renegado from Mitylene and his Christian wife put forth from the Golden Horn? What was the magic of this man, it was asked despairingly, that none seemed able to prevail against him? Had it not been currently reported that Carlos Quinto, the great Emperor, had driven him forth from Tunis a hunted fugitive, broken and penniless, with never a galley left, without one ducat in his pocket? Was he so different, then, from all the rest of mankind that his followers would stick to him in evil report as well as in the height of his prosperity? Men swore and women crossed themselves at the mention of his name.

"Terrible as an army with banners," indeed, was Kheyr-ed-Din in this eventful summer: things had gone badly with the crescent flag, the Padishah was unapproachable in his palace, brooding perchance on that "might have been" had he not sold his honor and the life of his only friend to gratify the malice of a she-devil; those in attendance on the

Sultan trembled, for the humor of the despot was black indeed.

But "the veritable man of the sea" was in some sort to console him for that which he had lost; as never in his own history—and there was none else with which it could be compared—had the Corsair King made so fruitful a raid. He ravaged the coasts of the Adriatic and the islands of the Archipelago, sweeping in slaves by the thousand, and by the end of the year he had collected eighteen thousand in the arsenal at Stamboul. Great was the jubilation in Constantinople when the Admiralissimo himself returned from his last expedition against the infidel; stilled were the voices which hinted disaffection—who among them all could bring back four hundred thousand pieces of gold? What mariner could offer to the Grand Turk such varied and magnificent presents?

Upon his arrival Barbarossa asked permission to kiss the threshold of the palace of the Sultan, which boon being graciously accorded to him, he made his triumphal entry. Two hundred captives clad in scarlet robes carried cups of gold and flasks of silver; behind them came thirty others, each staggering under an enormous purse of sequins; yet another two hundred brought collars of precious stones or bales of the choicest goods; and a further two hundred were laden with sacks of small coin. Certainly if Soliman the Magnificent had lost a Grand Vizier he had succeeded in finding an admiral!

All through the earlier months of 1538 the dock-yards of Constantinople hummed with a furious activity, for Soliman had decreed that the maritime campaign of this year was to begin with no less than one hundred and fifty ships. His admiral, however, did not agree with this decision; to the Viziers he raged and stormed. "Listen," he said, "O men of the land who understand naught of the happenings of the sea. By this time Saleh-Reis must have quitted Alexandria convoying to the Bosphorus twenty sail filled with the richest merchandise; should he fall in with the accursed Genoese, Doria, where then will be Saleh-Reis and his galleys and his convoy? I will tell you: the ships in Genoa, the galleys burned, Saleh-Reis and all his mariners chained to the rowers' bench."

The Viziers trembled as men did when Barbarossa stormed and turned upon them those terrible eyes which knew neither fear nor pity. "We be but men," they answered, "and our lord the Sultan has so ordained it."

"I have forty galleys," replied the corsair; "you have forty more. With these I will take the sea; but, mark you," he continued, softening somewhat, "you do right to fear the displeasure of the Sultan, and I also have no wish to encounter it; but vessels raised and equipped in a hurry will be of small use to me. In the name of Allah the compassionate and his holy Prophet give me my eighty galleys and let me go."

In Kheyr-ed-Din Barbarossa sound strategical instinct went hand in hand with the desperate valor of the corsair. To dally in the Golden Horn while so rich a prey was at sea to be picked up by his Christian foes was altogether opposed to his instincts: never to throw away a chance in the game of life had ever been his guiding principle.

Soliman, great man as he undoubtedly was, had not the adamantine hardness of character which enabled his admiral to risk all on the hazards of the moment; or possibly the Grand Turk was deficient in that clearness of strategical instinct which never in any circumstances foregoes a present advantage for something which may turn out well in a problematical future. Soliman, sore, sullen, and unapproachable, dwelt in his palace brooding over the misfortunes which had been his lot since the death of Ibrahim. Barbarossa, who so recently had lost practically all that he possessed, and who had reached an age at which most men have no hopes for the future, was as clear in intellect, as undaunted in spirit, as if he had been half a century younger: to be even once more with those by whom he had been defeated and dispossessed was the only thing now in his mind. The capture of Saleh-Reis and his convoy would be a triumph of which he could not bear to think. Further, it would add to the demoralization of the sea forces of the Sultan, which were sadly in need of some striking success after the defeats which had so recently been their por-

tion. The Sultan had decided that one hundred and fifty ships were necessary; his admiral thought otherwise. There was too much at stake for him to dally at Constantinople; his fiery energy swept all before it, and in the end he had his way. On June 7th, 1538, he finally triumphed over the hesitations of the Viziers and put to sea with eighty sail.

The Sultan, from his kiosk, the windows of which opened on the Bosphorus, counted the ships.

"Only eighty sail; is that all?" he asked.

The trembling Viziers prostrated themselves before him.

"O our Lord, the Padishah," they cried, "Saleh-Reis comes from Alexandria with a rich convoy; somewhere lurking is Andrea Doria, the accursed; it was necessary, O Magnificent, to send succor."

There was a pause, in which the hearts of men beat as do those who know not but that the next moment may be their last on earth.

The Sultan stared from his window at the retreating ships in a silence like the silence of the grave. At last he turned:

"So be it," he answered briefly; "but see to it that reinforcements do not lag upon the road."

If there had been activity in the dockyards before it was as nothing to the strenuous work that was to be done henceforward.

Before starting on this expedition Kheyr-ed-Din had made an innovation in the manning of some of the most powerful of his galleys, which was of

the utmost importance, and which was to add enormously to the success of his future maritime enterprises. The custom had always been that the Ottoman galleys had been rowed by Christians, captured and enslaved; of course the converse was true in the galleys of their foes. There were, for the size of the vessels, an enormous number of men carried in the galleys of the sixteenth century, and an average craft of this description would have on board some four hundred men; of these, however, the proportion would be two hundred and fifty slaves to one hundred and fifty fighting men. That which Kheyr-ed-Din now insisted upon was that a certain proportion of his most powerful units should be rowed by Moslem fighting men, so that on the day of battle the oarsmen could join in the fray instead of remaining chained to their benches, as was the custom with the slaves. It is, however, an extraordinary testimony to the influence which the corsair had attained in Constantinople that he had been able to effect this change in the composition of some of his crews; it must have been done with the active coöperation of the Sultan, as no authority less potent than that of the sovereign himself could have induced free men to undertake the terrible toil of rower in a galley. This was reserved for the unfortunate slave on either side owing to the intolerable hardship of the life, and results, in the pace at which a galley proceeded through the water, were

usually obtained by an unsparing use of the lash on the naked bodies of the rowers.

This human material was used up in the most prodigal manner possible, as those in command had not the inducement of treating the rowers well, from that economic standpoint which causes a man to so use his beast of burden as to get the best work from him. In the galley, when a slave would row no more he was flung overboard and another was put in his place.

The admiral, however, even when backed by the Padishah, could not man a large fleet of galleys with Moslem rowers, and, as there was a shortage in the matter of propelling power, his first business was to collect slaves, and for this purpose he visited the islands of the Archipelago. The lot of the unhappy inhabitants of these was indeed a hard one. They were nearer to the seat of the Moslem power than any other Christians; they were in those days totally unable to resist an attack in force, and in consequence were swept off in their thousands.

Seven islands cover the entrance to the Gulf of Volo. The nearest to the coast is Skiathos, which is also the most important; it was defended by a castle built upon a rock. This castle was attacked by Barbarossa, who bombarded it for six days, carried it by assault, and massacred the garrison. He spared the lives of the inhabitants of the island, and by this means secured three thousand four hundred rowers for his galleys. He had to provide motor-

power for the reinforcements which he expected. In July he was reinforced from Constantinople by ninety galleys, while from Egypt came Saleh-Reis, who had succeeded in avoiding the terrible Doria, with twenty more; the fleet was thus complete.

MORGAN AT PUERTO BELLO *

JOHN ESQUEMELING

SOME may think that the French having deserted Captain Morgan, the English alone could not have sufficient courage to attempt such great actions as before. But Captain Morgan, who always communicated vigor with his words, infused such spirit into his men, as put them instantly upon new designs. He inspired them with the belief that the sole execution of his orders would be a certain means of obtaining great riches, which so influenced their minds, that with inimitable courage they all resolved to follow him, as did also a certain pirate of Campechy, on this occasion joined with Captain Morgan, to seek new fortunes under his conduct. Thus Captain Morgan in a few days gathered a fleet of nine sail, either ships or great boats, wherein he had four hundred and sixty military men.

All things being ready, they put forth to sea, Captain Morgan imparting his design to nobody at present; he only told them on several occasions, that he doubted not to make a good fortune by that voyage, if strange occurrences happened not. They

* From *The Buccaneers of America*.

steered towards the continent, where they arrived in a few days near Costa Rica, all their fleet safe. No sooner had they discovered land but Captain Morgan declared his intentions to the captains, and presently after to the company. He told them he intended to plunder Puerto Bello by night, being resolved to put the whole city to the sack: and to encourage them he added, this enterprise could not fail, seeing he had kept it secret, without revealing it to anybody, whereby they could not have notice of his coming. To this proposition some answered, "they had not a sufficient number of men to assault so strong and great a city. But Captain Morgan replied, "If our number is small, our hearts are great; and the fewer persons we are, the more union and better shares we shall have in the spoil." Hereupon, being stimulated with the hope of those vast riches they promised themselves from their success, they unanimously agreed to that design. Now, that my reader may better comprehend the boldness of this exploit, it may be necessary to say something beforehand of the city of Puerto Bello.

This city is in the province of Costa Rica, 10 deg. north latitude, fourteen leagues from the gulf of Darien, and eight westwards from the port called Nombre de Dios. It is judged the strongest place the king of Spain possesses in all the West Indies, except Havanna and Carthagená. Here are two castles almost impregnable, that defend the city, situate at the entry of the port, so that no ship or boat

can pass without permission. The garrison consists of three hundred soldiers, and the town is inhabited by four hundred families. The merchants dwell not here, but only reside a while, when the galleons come from or go for Spain, by reason of the unhealthiness of the air, occasioned by vapors from the mountains; so that though their chief warehouses are at Puerto Bello, their habitations are at Panama, whence they bring the plate upon mules when the fair begins, and when the ships belonging to the company of negroes arrive to sell slaves.

Captain Morgan, who knew very well all the avenues of this city and the neighboring coasts, arrived in the evening with his men at Puerto de Naos, ten leagues to the west of Puerto Bello. Being come hither, they sailed up the river to another harbor called Puerto Pontin, where they anchored: here they put themselves into boats and canoes, leaving in the ships only a few men to bring them next day to the port. About midnight they came to a place called *Estera longa Lemos*, where they all went on shore and marched by land to the first posts of the city. They had in their company an Englishman, formerly a prisoner in those parts, who now served them for a guide. To him and three or four more they gave commission to take the sentinel, if possible, or kill him on the place: but they seized him so cunningly, as he had no time to give warning with his musket, or make any noise, and brought

him, with his hands bound, to Captain Morgan, who asked him how things went in the city, and what forces they had; with other circumstances he desired to know. After every question they made him a thousand menaces to kill him, if he declared not the truth. Then they advanced to the city, carrying the said sentinel bound before them: having marched about a quarter of a league, they came to the castle near the city, which presently they closely surrounded, so that no person could get either in or out.

Being posted under the walls of the castle, Captain Morgan commanded the sentinel, whom they had taken prisoner, to speak to those within, charging them to surrender to his discretion; otherwise they should all be cut in pieces, without quarter. But disregarding these threats, they began instantly to fire, which alarmed the city; yet notwithstanding, though the governor and soldiers of the said castle made as great resistance as could be, they were forced to surrender. Having taken the castle, Morgan resolved to be as good as his word, putting the Spaniards to the sword, thereby to strike a terror into the rest of the city. Whereupon, having shut up all the soldiers and officers as prisoners into one room, they set fire to the powder (whereof they found great quantity) and blew up the castle into the air, with all the Spaniards that were within. This done, they pursued the course of their victory, falling upon the city, which as yet was not

ready to receive them. Many of the inhabitants cast their precious jewels and money into wells and cisterns, or hid them in places underground, to avoid as much as possible, being totally robbed. One of the party of pirates, assigned to this purpose, ran immediately to the cloisters, and took as many religious men and women as they could find. The governor of the city, not being able to rally the citizens, through their great confusion, retired to one of the castles remaining, and thence fired incessantly at the pirates: but these were not in the least negligent either to assault him, or defend themselves, so that amidst the horror of the assault, they made very few shots in vain; for aiming with great dexterity at the mouths of the guns, the Spaniards were certain to lose one or two men every time they charged each gun anew.

The fight continued very furious from break of day till noon; indeed, about this time of the day the case was very dubious which party should conquer, or be conquered. At last, the pirates perceiving they had lost many men, and yet advanced but little towards gaining either this, or the other castles, made use of fire-balls, which they threw with their hands, designing to burn the doors of the castles. But the Spaniards from the walls let fall great quantities of stones, and earthen pots full of powder, and other combustible matter, which forced them to desist. Captain Morgan seeing this desperate defence made by the Spaniards, began to despair of

success. Hereupon, many faint and calm meditations came into his mind; neither could he determine which way to turn himself in that strait. Being thus puzzled, he was suddenly animated to continue the assault, by seeing the English colors put forth at one of the lesser castles, then entered by his men; of whom he presently after spied a troop coming to meet him, proclaiming victory with loud shouts of joy. This instantly put him on new resolutions of taking the rest of the castles, especially seeing the chiefest citizens were fled to them, and had conveyed thither great part of their riches, with all the plate belonging to the churches and divine service.

To this effect, he ordered ten or twelve ladders to be made in all haste, so broad, that three or four men at once might ascend them: these being finished, he commanded all the religious men and women, whom he had taken prisoners, to fix them against the walls of the castle. This he had before threatened the governor to do, if he delivered not the castle: but his answer was, "he would never surrender himself alive." Captain Morgan was persuaded the governor would not employ his utmost force, on seeing the religious women and ecclesiastical persons exposed in the front of the soldiers to the greatest danger. Thus the ladders, as I have said, were at once put into the hands of religious persons of both sexes, and these were forced, at the head of the companies, to raise and apply them to the walls. But Captain Morgan was fully deceived

in his judgment of this design; for the governor, who acted like a brave soldier in performance of his duty, used his utmost endeavor to destroy whomsoever came near the walls. The religious men and women ceased not to cry to him, and beg of him, by all the saints of heaven, to deliver the castle, and spare both his and their own lives; but nothing could prevail with his obstinacy and fierceness. Thus many of the religious men and nuns were killed before they could fix the ladders; which at last being done, though with great loss of their number, the pirates mounted them in great numbers, and with reckless valor, having fire-balls in their hands, and earthen pots full of powder; which, being now at the top of the walls, they kindled and cast down among the Spaniards.

This effort of the pirates was very great, inso-much that the Spaniards could not longer resist nor defend the castle, which was now entered. Here-upon they all threw down their arms, and craved quarter for their lives; only the governor of the city would crave no mercy, but killed many of the pirates with his own hands, and not a few of his own soldiers; because they did not stand to their arms. And though the pirates asked him if he would have quarter; yet he constantly answered, "By no means, I had rather die as a valiant soldier, than be hanged as a coward." They endeavored as much as they could to take him prisoner, but he defended himself so obstinately, that they were forced

to kill him, notwithstanding all the cries and tears of his own wife and daughter, who begged him, on their knees, to demand quarter, and save his life. When the pirates had possessed themselves of the castle, which was about nightfall, they enclosed therein all the prisoners, placing the women and men by themselves, with some guards. The wounded were put in an apartment by themselves, that their own complaints might be the cure of their diseases; for no other was afforded them.

This done, they fell to eating and drinking, and as usual, to committing all manner of debauchery and excess, so that fifty courageous men might easily have retaken the city, and killed all the pirates. Next day, having plundered all they could find, they examined some of the prisoners (who had been persuaded by their companions to say they were the richest of the town), charging them severely to discover where they had hid their riches and goods. Not being able to extort anything from them, they not being the right persons, it was resolved to torture them: this they did so cruelly, that many of them died on the rack, or presently after. Now the president of Panama being advertised of the pillage and ruin of Puerto Bello, he employed all his care and industry to raise forces to pursue and cast out the pirates thence; but these cared little for his preparations, having their ships at hand, and determining to fire the city, and retreat. They had now been at Puerto Bello fifteen days, in which

time they had lost many of their men, both by the unhealthiness of the country, and their extravagant debaucheries.

Hereupon, they prepared to depart, carrying on board all the pillage they had got, having first provided the fleet with sufficient victuals for the voyage. While these things were doing Captain Morgan demanded of the prisoners a ransom for the city, or else he would burn it down, and blow up all the castles; withal, he commanded them to send speedily two persons, to procure the sum, which was 100,000 pieces-of-eight. To this effect two men were sent to the president of Panama, who gave him an account of all. The president, having now a body of men ready, set forth towards Puerto Bello, to encounter the pirates before their retreat; but, they, hearing of his coming, instead of flying away, went out to meet him at a narrow passage, which he must pass: here they placed a hundred men, very well armed, which at the first encounter put to flight a good party of those of Panama. This obliged the president to retire for that time, not being yet in a posture of strength to proceed farther. Presently after, he sent a message to Captain Morgan, to tell him, "that if he departed not suddenly with all his forces from Puerto Bello, he ought to expect no quarter for himself, nor his companions, when he should take them, as he hoped soon to do." Captain Morgan, who feared not his threats, knowing he had a secure retreat in his ships, which were at

hand, answered, "he would not deliver the castles, before he had received the contribution-money he had demanded; which if it were not paid down, he would certainly burn the whole city, and then leave it, demolishing beforehand the castles, and killing the prisoners."

The governor of Panama perceived by this answer that no means would serve to mollify the hearts of the pirates, nor reduce them to reason: whereupon, he determined to leave the inhabitants of the city to make the best agreement they could. In a few days more the miserable citizens gathered the contributions required, and brought 100,000 pieces-of-eight to the pirates for their ransom. The president of Panama was much amazed that four hundred men could take such a great city, with so many strong castles, especially having no ordnance, wherewith to raise batteries, and, knowing the citizens of Puerto Bello had always great repute of being good soldiers themselves, who never wanted courage in their own defence. His astonishment was so great, that he sent to Captain Morgan, desiring some small pattern of those arms wherewith he had taken with such vigor so great a city. Captain Morgan received this messenger very kindly, and with great civility; and gave him a pistol, and a few small bullets, to carry back to the president his master; telling him, withal, "he desired him to accept that slender pattern of the arms wherewith he had taken Puerto Bello, and keep

them for a twelvemonth; after which time he promised to come to Panama, and fetch them away." * The governor returned the present very soon to Captain Morgan, giving him thanks for the favor of lending him such weapons as he needed not; and, withal, sent him a ring of gold, with this message, "that he desired him not to give himself the labor of coming to Panama, as he had done to Puerto Bello: for he did assure him, he should not speed so well here, as he had done there."

After this, Captain Morgan (having provided his fleet with all necessaries, and taken with him the best guns of the castles, nailing up the rest) set sail from Puerto Bello with all his ships, and arriving in a few days at Cuba, he sought out a place wherein he might quickly make the dividend of their spoil. They found in ready money 250,000 pieces-of-eight, besides other merchandise; as cloth, linen, silks, etc. With this rich purchase they sailed thence to their common place of rendezvous, Jamaica. Being arrived, they passed here some time in all sorts of vices and debaucheries, according to their custom; spending very prodigally what others had gained with no small labor and toil.

* This promise was kept. See The Capture of Panama (foot-note).

THE WAYS OF THE BUCCANEERS *

JOHN MASEFIELD after JOHN ESQUEMELING

THROUGHOUT the years of buccaneering, the buccaneers often put to sea in canoas and periaguas, just as Drake put to sea in his three pinnaces. Life in an open boat is far from pleasant, but men who passed their leisure cutting logwood at Campeachy, or hoeing tobacco in Jamaica, or toiling over gramma grass under a hot sun after cattle, were not disposed to make the worst of things. They would sit contentedly upon the oar bench, rowing with a long, slow stroke for hours together without showing signs of fatigue. Nearly all of them were men of more than ordinary strength, and all of them were well accustomed to the climate. When they had rowed their canoa to the Main they were able to take it easy till a ship came by from one of the Spanish ports. If she seemed a reasonable prey, without too many guns, and not too high charged, or high built, the privateers would load their muskets, and row down to engage her. The best shots were sent into the bows, and excused from rowing, lest the exercise should cause their hands to tremble. A clever man was

* From *Buccaneer Customs on the Spanish Main*.

put to the steering oar, and the musketeers were bidden to sing out whenever the enemy yawed, so as to fire her guns. It was in action, and in action only, that the captain had command over his men. The steersman endeavored to keep the masts of the quarry in a line, and to approach her from astern. The marksmen from the bows kept up a continual fire at the vessel's helmsmen, if they could be seen, and at any gun-ports which happened to be open. If the helmsmen could not be seen from the sea, the canoas aimed to row in upon the vessel's quarters, where they could wedge up the rudder with wooden chocks or wedges. They then laid her aboard over the quarter, or by the after chains, and carried her with their knives and pistols. The first man to get aboard received some gift of money at the division of the spoil.

When the prize was taken, the prisoners were questioned, and despoiled. Often, indeed, they were stripped stark naked, and granted the privilege of seeing their finery on a pirate's back. Each buccaneer had the right to take a shift of clothes out of each prize captured. The cargo was then rummaged, and the state of the ship looked to, with an eye to using her as a cruiser. As a rule, the prisoners were put ashore on the first opportunity, but some buccaneers had a way of selling their captives into slavery. If the ship were old, leaky, valueless, in ballast, or with a cargo useless to the rovers, she was either robbed of her guns,

and turned adrift with her crew, or run ashore in some snug cove, where she could be burnt for the sake of the iron-work. If the cargo were of value, and, as a rule, the ships they took had some rich thing aboard them, they sailed her to one of the Dutch, French or English settlements, where they sold her freight for what they could get—some tenth or twentieth of its value. If the ship were a good one, in good condition, well found, swift, and not of too great draught (for they preferred to sail in small ships), they took her for their cruiser as soon as they had emptied out her freight. They sponged and loaded her guns, brought their stores aboard her, laid their mats upon her deck, secured the boats astern, and sailed away in search of other plunder. They kept little discipline aboard their ships. What work had to be done they did, but works of supererogation they despised and rejected as a shade unholy. The night watches were partly orgies. While some slept, the others fired guns and drank to the health of their fellows. By the light of the binnacle, or by the light of the slush lamps in the cabin, the rovers played a hand at cards, or diced each other at “seven and eleven,” using a pannikin as dice-box. While the gamblers cut and shuffled, and the dice rattled in the tin, the musical sang songs, the fiddlers set their music chuckling, and the sea-boots stamped approval. The cunning dancers showed their science in the moonlight, avoiding the sleepers if they could. In this jolly fashion were the

nights made short. In the daytime, the gambling continued with little intermission; nor had the captain any authority to stop it. One captain, in the histories, was so bold as to throw the dice and cards overboard, but, as a rule, the captain of a buccaneer cruiser was chosen as an artist, or navigator, or as a lucky fighter. He was not expected to spoil sport. The continual gambling nearly always led to fights and quarrels. The lucky dicers often won so much that the unlucky had to part with all their booty. Sometimes a few men would win all the plunder of the cruise, much to the disgust of the majority, who clamored for a redivision of the spoil. If two buccaneers got into a quarrel they fought it out on shore at the first opportunity, using knives, swords, or pistols, according to taste. The usual way of fighting was with pistols, the combatants standing back to back, at a distance of ten or twelve paces, and turning round to fire at the word of command. If both shots missed, the question was decided with cutlasses, the man who drew first blood being declared the winner. If a man were proved to be a coward he was either tied to the mast, and shot, or mutilated, and sent ashore. No cruise came to an end until the company declared themselves satisfied with the amount of plunder taken. The question, like all other important questions, was debated round the mast, and decided by vote.

At the conclusion of a successful cruise, they sailed for Port Royal, with the ship full of treasure, such

as vicuna wool, packets of pearls from the Hatch, jars of civet or of ambergris, boxes of "marmalett" and spices, casks of strong drink, bales of silk, sacks of chocolate and vanilla, and rolls of green cloth and pale blue cotton which the Indians had woven in Peru, in some sandy village near the sea, in sight of the pelicans and the penguins. In addition to all these things, they usually had a number of the personal possessions of those they had taken on the seas. Lying in the chests for subsequent division were swords, silver-mounted pistols, daggers chased and inlaid, watches from Spain, necklaces of uncut jewels, rings and bangles, heavy carved furniture, "cases of bottles" of delicately cut green glass, containing cordials distilled of precious mints, with packets of emeralds from Brazil, bezoar stones from Patagonia, paintings from Spain, and medicinal gums from Nicaragua. All these things were divided by lot at the main-mast as soon as the anchor held. As the ship, or ships, neared port, her men hung colors out—any colors they could find—to make their vessel gay. A cup of drink was taken as they sailed slowly home to moorings, and as they drank they fired off the cannon, "bullets and all," again and yet again, rejoicing as the bullets struck the water. Up in the bay, the ships in the harbor answered with salutes of cannon; flags were dipped and hoisted in salute; and so the anchor dropped in some safe reach, and the division of the spoil began.

After the division of the spoil in the beautiful

Port Royal harbor, in sight of the palm-trees and the fort with the colors flying, the buccaneers packed their gear, and dropped over the side into a boat. They were pulled ashore by some grinning black man with a scarlet scarf about his head and the brand of a hot iron on his shoulders. At the jetty end, where the Indians lounged at their tobacco and the fishermen's canoas rocked, the sunburnt pirates put ashore. Among the noisy company which always gathers on a pier they met with their companions. A sort of Roman triumph followed, as the "happily returned" lounged swaggeringly towards the taverns. Eager hands helped them to carry in their plunder. In a few minutes the gang was entering the tavern, the long, cool room with barrels round the walls, where there were benches and a table and an old blind fiddler jerking his elbow at a jig. Noisily the party ranged about the table, and sat themselves upon the benches, while the drawers, or potboys, in their shirts, drew near to take the orders. I wonder if the reader has ever heard a sailor in the like circumstance, five minutes after he has touched his pay, address a company of parasites in an inn with the question: "What's it going to be?"

A TRUE ACCOUNT OF THREE NOTORIOUS PIRATES *

HOWARD PYLE, ED.

I

CAPTAIN TEACH *alias* BLACK-BEARD

EDWARD TEACH was a Bristol man born, but had sailed some time out of Jamaica, in privateers, in the late French war; yet though he had often distinguished himself for his uncommon boldness and personal courage, he was never raised to any command, till he went a-pirating, which, I think, was at the latter end of the year 1716, when Captain Benjamin Hornygold put him into a sloop that he had made prize of, and with whom he continued in consortship till a little while before Hornygold surrendered.

In the spring of the year 1717 Teach and Hornygold sailed from Providence, for the main of America, and took in their way a billop from the Havana, with 120 barrels of flour, as also a sloop from Bermuda, Thurbar master, from whom they took only some gallons of wine, and then let him go; and a ship from Madeira to South Carolina, out of which they got plunder to a considerable value.

* A contemporary narrative. From *The Buccaneers of America*.

After cleaning on the coast of Virginia, they returned to the West Indies, and in the latitude of 24, made prize of a large French Guineaman, bound to Martinico, which, by Hornygold's consent, Teach went aboard of as captain, and took a cruise in her. Hornygold returned with his sloop to Providence, where, at the arrival of Captain Rogers, the governor, he surrendered to mercy, pursuant to the king's proclamation.

Aboard of this Guineaman Teach mounted forty guns, and named her the *Queen Ann's Revenge*; and cruising near the island of St. Vincent, took a large ship, called the *Great Allen*, Christopher Taylor, commander; the pirates plundered her of what they thought fit, put all the men ashore upon the island above mentioned, and set fire to the ship.

A few days after Teach fell in with the *Scarborough*, man-of-war, of thirty guns, who engaged him for some hours; but she, finding the pirate well-manned, and having tried her strength, gave over the engagement and returned to Barbadoes, the place of her station, and Teach sailed towards the Spanish America.

In this way he met with a pirate sloop of ten guns, commanded by one Major Bonnet, lately a gentleman of good reputation and estate in the island of Barbadoes, whom he joined; but in a few days after, Teach, finding that Bonnet knew nothing of a maritime life, with the consent of his own men, put in another captain, one Richards, to command Bon-

net's sloop, and took the Major on board his own ship, telling him, that as he had not been used to the fatigues and care of such a post, it would be better for him to decline it and live easy, at his pleasure, in such a ship as his, where he would not be obliged to perform the necessary duties of a sea-voyage.

At Turniff, ten leagues short of the Bay of Honduras, the pirates took in fresh water, and while they were at anchor there, they saw a sloop coming in, whereupon Richards, in the sloop called the *Revenge*, slipped his cable and run out to meet her; who, upon seeing the black flag hoisted, struck his sail and came to under the stern of Teach, the commodore. She was called the *Adventure*, from Jamaica, David Harriot, master. They took him and his men aboard the great ship, and sent a number of other hands with Israel Hands, master of Teach's ship, to man the sloop for the piratical account.

The 9th of April they weighed from Turniff, having lain there about a week, and sailed to the bay, where they found a ship and four sloops; three of the latter belonged to Jonathan Bernard, of Jamaica, and the other to Captain James. The ship was of Boston, called the *Protestant Cæsar*, Captain Wyar, commander. Teach hoisted his black colors and fired a gun, upon which Captain Wyar and all his men left their ship and got ashore in their boat. Teach's quartermaster and eight of his crew took possession of Wyar's ship, and Richards secured all the sloops, one of which they burnt out of spite to

the owner. The *Protestant Cæsar* they also burnt, after they had plundered her, because she belonged to Boston, where some men had been hanged for piracy, and the three sloops belonging to Bernard they let go.

From hence the rovers sailed to Turkill, and then to the Grand Caimanes, a small island about thirty leagues to the westward of Jamaica, where they took a small turtler, and so to the Havana, and from thence to the Bahama Wrecks; and from the Bahama Wrecks they sailed to Carolina, taking a brigantine and two sloops in their way, where they lay off the bar of Charles Town for five or six days. They took here a ship as she was coming out, bound for London, commanded by Robert Clark, with some passengers on board for England. The next day they took another vessel coming out of Charles Town, and also two pinks coming into Charles Town; likewise a brigantine with fourteen negroes aboard; all of which, being done in the face of the town, struck so great a terror to the whole province of Carolina, having just before been visited by Vane, another notorious pirate, that they abandoned themselves to despair, being in no condition to resist their force. There were eight sail in the harbor, ready for the sea, but none dared to venture out, it being almost impossible to escape their hands. The inward bound vessels were under the same unhappy dilemma, so that the trade of this place was totally interrupted. What made these misfortunes heavier

to them was a long, expensive war the colony had had with the natives, which was but just ended when these robbers infested them.

Teach detained all the ships and prisoners, and, being in want of medicines, resolved to demand a chest from the government of the province. Accordingly, Richards, the captain of the *Revenge* sloop, with two or three more pirates, were sent up along with Mr. Marks, one of the prisoners whom they had taken in Clark's ship, and very insolently made their demands, threatening that if they did not send immediately the chest of medicines and let the pirate ambassadors return, without offering any violence to their persons, they would murder all their prisoners, send up their heads to the governor, and set the ships they had taken on fire.

Whilst Mr. Marks was making application to the council, Richards and the rest of the pirates walked the streets publicly in the sight of all people, who were fired with the utmost indignation, looking upon them as robbers and murderers, and particularly the authors of their wrongs and oppressions, but durst not so much as think of executing their revenge for fear of bringing more calamities upon themselves, and so they were forced to let the villains pass with impunity. The government was not long in deliberating upon the message, though it was the greatest affront that could have been put upon them, yet, for the saving so many men's lives (among them

Mr. Samuel Wragg, one of the council), they complied with the necessity and sent aboard a chest, valued at between three and four hundred pounds, and the pirates went back safe to their ships.

Black-beard (for so Teach was generally called, as we shall hereafter show), as soon as he had received the medicines and his brother rogues, let go the ships and the prisoners, having first taken out of them in gold and silver about £1,500 sterling, besides provisions and other matters.

From the bar of Charles Town they sailed to North Carolina, Captain Teach in the ship, which they called the man-of-war, Captain Richards and Captain Hands in the sloops, which they termed privateers, and another sloop serving them as a tender. Teach began now to think of breaking up the company and securing the money and the best of the effects for himself and some others of his companions he had most friendship for, and to cheat the rest. Accordingly, on pretense of running into Topsail inlet to clean, he grounded his ship, and then, as if it had been done undesignedly and by accident, he orders Hands' sloop to come to his assistance and get him off again, which he, endeavoring to do, ran the sloop on shore near the other, and so were both lost. This done, Teach goes into the tender sloop, with forty hands, and leaves the *Revenge* there, then takes seventeen others and maroons them upon a small sandy island, about a league from the main, where there was neither bird, beast,

or herb for their subsistence, and where they must have perished if Major Bonnet had not, two days after, taken them off.

Teach goes up to the governor of North Carolina, with about twenty of his men, and they surrender to his Majesty's proclamation, and receive certificates thereof from his Excellency; but it did not appear that their submitting to this pardon was from any reformation of manners, but only to await a more favorable opportunity to play the same game over again; which he soon after effected, with greater security to himself, and with much better prospect of success, having in this time cultivated a very good understanding with Charles Eden, Esq., the governor above mentioned.

The first piece of service this kind governor did to Black-beard was to give him a right to the vessel which he had taken when he was a-pirating in the great ship called the *Queen Ann's Revenge*, for which purpose a court of vice-admiralty was held at Bath Town, and, though Teach had never any commission in his life, and the sloop belonging to the English merchants, and taken in time of peace, yet was she condemned as a prize taken from the Spaniards by the said Teach. These proceedings show that governors are but men.

Before he sailed upon his adventures, he married a young creature of about sixteen years of age, the governor performing the ceremony. As it is a custom to marry here by a priest, so it is there by a

magistrate; and this, I have been informed, made Teach's fourteenth wife whereof about a dozen might be still living.

In June, 1718, he went to sea upon another expedition, and steered his course towards Bermudas. He met with two or three English vessels in his way, but robbed them only of provisions, stores, and other necessaries, for his present expense; but near the island before mentioned, he fell in with two French ships, one of them was laden with sugar and cocoa, and the other light, both bound to Martinico. The ship that had no lading he let go, and putting all the men of the loaded ship aboard her, he brought home the other with her cargo to North Carolina, where the governor and the pirates shared the plunder.

When Teach and his prize arrived he and four of his crew went to his Excellency and made affidavit that they found the French ship at sea without a soul on board her; and then a court was called, and the ship condemned. The governor had sixty hogsheads of sugar for his dividend, and one Mr. Knight, who was his secretary and collector for the province, twenty, and the rest was shared among the other pirates.

The business was not yet done; the ship remained, and it was possible one or other might come into the river that might be acquainted with her, and so discover the roguery. But Teach thought of a contrivance to prevent this, for, upon a pretence that she

was leaky, and that she might sink, and so stop up the mouth of the inlet or cove where she lay, he obtained an order from the governor to bring her out into the river and set her on fire, which was accordingly executed, and she was burnt down to the water's edge, her bottom sunk, and with it their fears of her ever rising in judgment against them.

Captain Teach, alias Black-beard, passed three or four months in the river, sometimes lying at anchor in the coves, at other times sailing from one inlet to another, trading with such sloops as he met for the plunder he had taken, and would often give them presents for stores and provisions he took from them; that is, when he happened to be in a giving humor; at other times he made bold with them, and took what he liked, without saying "By your leave," knowing well they dared not send him a bill for the payment. He often diverted himself with going ashore among the planters, where he revelled night and day. By these he was well received, but whether out of love or fear I cannot say. Sometimes he used them courteously enough, and made them presents of rum and sugar in recompense of what he took from them; but, as for liberties, which it is said he and his companions often took with the wives and daughters of the planters, I cannot take upon me to say whether he paid them *ad valorem* or no. At other times he carried it in a lordly manner towards them, and would lay some of them under contribution; nay, he often proceeded to bully

the governor, not that I can discover the least cause of quarrel between them, but it seemed only to be done to show he dared do it.

The sloops trading up and down this river being so frequently pillaged by Black-beard, consulted with the traders and some of the best planters what course to take. They saw plainly it would be in vain to make an application to the governor of North Carolina, to whom it properly belonged to find some redress; so that if they could not be relieved from some other quarter, Black-beard would be like to reign with impunity; therefore, with as much secrecy as possible, they sent a deputation to Virginia, to lay the affair before the governor of that colony, and to solicit an armed force from the men-of-war lying there to take or destroy this pirate.

This governor consulted with the captains of the two men-of-war, viz., the *Pearl* and *Lime*, who had lain in St. James's river about ten months. It was agreed that the governor should hire a couple of small sloops, and the men-of-war should man them. This was accordingly done, and the command of them given to Mr. Robert Maynard, first lieutenant of the *Pearl*, an experienced officer, and a gentleman of great bravery and resolution, as will appear by his gallant behavior in this expedition. The sloops were well manned, and furnished with ammunition and small arms, but had no guns mounted.

About the time of their going out the governor called an assembly, in which it was resolved to put-

lish a proclamation, offering certain rewards to any person or persons who, within a year after that time, should take or destroy any pirate. The original proclamation, being in our hands, is as follows:—

By his Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony and Dominion of Virginia.

A PROCLAMATION,

Publishing the Rewards given for apprehending or killing Pirates.

WHEREAS, by an Act of Assembly, made at a Session of Assembly, begun at the capital in Williamsburg, the eleventh day of November, in the fifth year of his Majesty's reign, entitled, An Act to Encourage the Apprehending and Destroying of Pirates: It is, amongst other things, enacted, that all and every person, or persons, who, from and after the fourteenth day of November, in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighteen, and before the fourteenth day of November, which shall be in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and nineteen, shall take any pirate, or pirates, on the sea or land, or, in case of resistance, shall kill any such pirate, or pirates, between the degrees of thirty-four and thirty-nine of northern latitude, and within one hundred leagues of the continent of Virginia, or within the provinces of Virginia, or North Carolina, upon the conviction, or making due proof of the killing of all and every such pirate, and pirates, before the Governor and Council, shall be entitled to have, and receive out of the public money, in the hands of the Treasurer of this Colony, the several rewards following: that is to say, for Edward Teach, commonly called Captain Teach, or Black-beard, one hun-

dred pounds; for every other commander of a pirate ship, sloop, or vessel, forty pounds; for every lieutenant, master, or quartermaster, boatswain, or carpenter, twenty pounds; for every other inferior officer, fifteen pounds; and for every private man taken on board such ship, sloop, or vessel, ten pounds; and that for every pirate which shall be taken by any ship, sloop, or vessel, belonging to this colony, or North Carolina, within the time aforesaid, in any place whatsoever, the like rewards shall be paid according to the quality and condition of such pirates. Wherefore, for the encouragement of all such persons as shall be willing to serve his Majesty, and their country, in so just and honourable an undertaking as the suppressing a sort of people who may be truly called enemies to mankind: I have thought fit, with the advice and consent of his Majesty's Council, to issue this Proclamation, hereby declaring the said rewards shall be punctually and justly paid, in current money of Virginia, according to the directions of the said Act. And I do order and appoint this proclamation to be published by the sheriffs at their respective country houses, and by all ministers and readers in the several churches and chapels throughout this colony.

Given at our Council-Chamber at Williamsburgh, this
24th day of November, 1718, in the fifth year of
his Majesty's reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

A. SPOTSWOOD.

The 17th of November, 1718, the lieutenant sailed from Kicquetan, in James river in Virginia, and the 31st, in the evening, came to the mouth of Okerecock inlet, where he got sight of the pirate.

This expedition was made with all imaginable secrecy, and the officer managed with all the prudence that was necessary, stopping all boats and vessels he met with in the river from going up, and thereby preventing any intelligence from reaching Black-beard, and receiving at the same time an account from them all of the place where the pirate was lurking. But notwithstanding this caution, Black-beard had information of the design from his Excellency of the province; and his secretary, Mr. Knight, wrote him a letter particularly concerning it, intimating "that he had sent him four of his men, which were all he could meet with in or about town, and so bid him be upon his guard." These men belonged to Black-beard, and were sent from Bath Town to Okerecock inlet, where the sloop lay, which is about twenty leagues.

Black-beard had heard several reports, which happened not to be true, and so gave the less credit to this advice; nor was he convinced till he saw the sloops. Then it was time to put his vessel in a posture of defense. He had no more than twenty-five men on board, though he gave out to all the vessels he spoke with that he had forty. When he had prepared for battle he sat down and spent the night in drinking with the master of a trading sloop, who, it was thought, had more business with Teach than he should have had.

Lieutenant Maynard came to an anchor, for the place being shoal, and the channel intricate, there

was no getting in where Teach lay that night; but in the morning he weighed, and sent his boat ahead of the sloops to sound, and coming within gun-shot of the pirate, received his fire; whereupon Maynard hoisted the king's colors, and stood directly towards him with the best way that his sails and oars could make. Black-beard cut his cable, and endeavored to make a running fight, keeping a continual fire at his enemies with his guns. Mr. Maynard, not having any, kept a constant fire with small arms, while some of his men labored at their oars. In a little time Teach's sloop ran aground, and Mr. Maynard's, drawing more water than that of the pirate, he could not come near him; so he anchored within half gun-shot of the enemy, and, in order to lighten his vessel, that he might run him aboard, the lieutenant ordered all his ballast to be thrown overboard, and all the water to be staved, and then weighed and stood for him; upon which Black-beard hailed him in this rude maner: "Damn you for villains, who are you; and from whence came you?" The lieutenant made him answer, "You may see by our colors we are no pirates." Black-beard bid him send his boat on board that he might see who he was; but Mr. Maynard replied thus: "I cannot spare my boat, but I will come aboard of you as soon as I can with my sloop." Upon this Black-beard took a glass of liquor, and drank to him with these words: "Damnation seize my soul if I give you quarter, or take any from you." In answer to which

Mr. Maynard told him "that he expected no quarter from him, nor should he give him any."

By this time Black-beard's sloop fledged as Mr. Maynard's sloops were rowing towards him, which being not above a foot high in the waist, and consequently the men all exposed, as they came near together (there being hitherto little or no execution done on either side), the pirate fired a broadside charged with all manner of small shot. A fatal stroke to them!—the sloop the lieutenant was in having twenty men killed and wounded, and the other sloop nine. This could not be helped, for there being no wind, they were obliged to keep to their oars, otherwise the pirate would have got away from him, which it seems, the lieutenant was resolute to prevent.

After this unlucky blow Black-beard's sloop fell broadside to the shore; Mr. Maynard's other sloop, which was called the *Ranger*, fell astern, being for the present disabled. So the lieutenant, finding his own sloop had way and would soon be on board of Teach, he ordered all his men down, for fear of another broadside, which must have been their destruction and the loss of their expedition. Mr. Maynard was the only person that kept the deck, except the man at the helm, whom he directed to lie down snug, and the men in the hold were ordered to get their pistols and their swords ready for close fighting, and to come up at his command; in order to which two ladders were placed in the hatchway

for the more expedition. When the lieutenant's sloop boarded the other Captain Teach's men threw in several new-fashioned sort of grenades, viz., case-bottles filled with powder and small shot, slugs, and pieces of lead or iron, with a quick-match in the mouth of it, which, being lighted without side, presently runs into the bottle to the powder, and, as it is instantly thrown on board, generally does great execution besides putting all the crew into a confusion. But, by good Providence, they had not that effect here, the men being in the hold. Black-beard, seeing few or no hands aboard, told his men "that they were all knocked to head, except three or four; and therefore," says he, "let's jump on board and cut them to pieces."

Whereupon, under the smoke of one of the bottles just mentioned, Black-beard enters with fourteen men over the bows of Maynard's sloop, and were not seen by him until the air cleared. However, he just then gave a signal to his men, who all rose in an instant, and attacked the pirates with as much bravery as ever was done upon such an occasion. Black-beard and the lieutenant fired the first shots at each other, by which the pirate received a wound, and then engaged with swords, till the lieutenant's unluckily broke, and stepping back to cock a pistol, Black-beard, with his cutlass, was striking at that instant that one of Maynard's men gave him a terrible wound in the neck and throat, by which the lieutenant came off with only a small cut over his fingers.

They were now closely and warmly engaged, the lieutenant and twelve men against Black-beard and fourteen, till the sea was tinged with blood round the vessel. Black-beard received a shot into his body from the pistol that Lieutenant Maynard discharged, yet he stood his ground, and fought with great fury till he received five-and-twenty wounds, and five of them by shot. At length, as he was cocking another pistol, having fired several before, he fell down dead; by which time eight more out of the fourteen dropped, and all the rest, much wounded, jumped overboard and called out for quarter, which was granted, though it was only prolonging their lives a few days. The sloop *Ranger* came up and attacked the men that remained in Black-beard's sloop with equal bravery, till they likewise cried for quarter.

Here was an end of that courageous brute, who might have passed in the world for a hero had he been employed in a good cause.

The lieutenant caused Black-beard's head to be severed from his body, and hung up at the boltsprit end; then he sailed to Bath Town, to get relief for his wounded men.

In rummaging the pirate's sloop, they found several letters and written papers, which discovered the correspondence between Governor Eden, the secretary and collector, and also some traders at New York, and Black-beard. It is likely he had regard enough for his friends to have destroyed these pa-

pers before action, in order to hinder them from falling into such hands, where the discovery would be of no use either to the interest or reputation of these fine gentlemen, if it had not been his fixed resolution to have blown up together, when he found no possibility of escaping.

When the lieutenant came to Bath Town, he made bold to seize from the governor's storehouse the sixty hogsheads of sugar, and from honest Mr. Knight, twenty; which it seems was their dividend of the plunder taken in the French ship. The latter did not survive this shameful discovery, for, being apprehensive that he might be called to an account for these trifles, fell sick, it is thought, with the fright, and died in a few days.

After the wounded men were pretty well recovered, the lieutenant sailed back to the men-of-war in James River, in Virginia, with Black-beard's head still hanging at the boltsprit end, and fifteen prisoners, thirteen of whom were hanged, it appearing, upon trial, that one of them, viz., Samuel Odell, was taken out of the trading sloop but the night before the engagement. This poor fellow was a little unlucky at his first entering upon his new trade, there appearing no less than seventy wounds upon him after the action; notwithstanding which he lived and was cured of them all. The other person that escaped the gallows was one Israel Hands, the master of Blackbeard's sloop, and formerly captain

of the same, before the *Queen Ann's Revenge* was lost in Topsail inlet.

The aforesaid Hands happened not to be in the fight, but was taken afterwards ashore at Bath Town, having been sometime before disabled by Black-beard, in one of his savage humors, after the following manner: One night, drinking in his cabin with Hands, the pilot, and another man, Black-beard, without any provocation, privately draws out a small pair of pistols, and cocks them under the table, which being perceived by the man, he withdrew and went upon deck, leaving Hands, the pilot, and the captain together. When the pistols were ready he blew out the candle, and, crossing his hands, discharged them at his company; Hands, the master, was shot throgh the knee and lamed for life, the other pistol did no execution. Being asked the meaning of this, he only answered by damning them, that "if he did not now and then kill one of them, they would forget who he was."

Hands being taken, was tried and condemned, but just as he was about to be executed a ship arrived at Virginia with a proclamation for prolonging the time of his Majesty's pardon to such of the pirates as should surrender by a limited time therein expressed. Notwithstanding the sentence, Hands pleaded the pardon, and was allowed the benefit of it, and was alive some time ago in London, begging his bread.

Now that we have given some account of Teach's

life and actions, it will not be amiss that we speak of his beard, since it did not a little contribute towards making his name so terrible in those parts.

Plutarch and other grave historians have taken notice that several great men amongst the Romans took their surnames from certain odd marks in their countenances—as Cicero, from a mark, or vetch, on his nose—so our hero, Captain Teach, assumed the cognomen of Blackbeard, from that large quantity of hair which, like a frightful meteor, covered his whole face, and frightened America more than any comet that has appeared there a long time.

This beard was black, which he suffered to grow of an extravagant length; as to breadth, it came up to his eyes. He was accustomed to twist it with ribbons, in small tails, after the manner of our Ramilie wigs, and turn them about his ears. In time of action he wore a sling over his shoulders, with three brace of pistols hanging in holsters like bandaliers, and stuck lighted matches under his hat, which, appearing on each side of his face, his eyes naturally looking fierce and wild, made him altogether such a figure that imagination cannot form an idea of a fury from hell to look more frightful.

If he had the look of a fury, his humors and passions were suitable to it.

In the commonwealth of pirates, he who goes the greatest length of wickedness is looked upon with a kind of envy amongst them as a person of a more

extraordinary gallantry, and is thereby entitled to be distinguished by some post, and if such a one has but courage, he must certainly be a great man. The hero of whom we are writing was thoroughly accomplished this way, and some of his frolics of wickedness were so extravagant, as if he aimed at making his men believe he was a devil incarnate; for being one day at sea, and a little flushed with drink, "Come," says he, "let us make a hell of our own, and try how long we can bear it." Accordingly he, with two or three others, went down into the hold, and closing up all the hatches, filled several pots full of brimstone and other combustible matter, and set it on fire, and so continued till they were almost suffocated, when some of the men cried out for air. At length he opened the hatches, not a little pleased that he held out the longest.

The night before he was killed he sat up and drank till the morning with some of his own men and the master of a merchantman; and having had intelligence of the two sloops coming to attack him, as has been before observed, one of his men asked him, in case anything should happen to him in the engagement with the sloops, whether his wife knew where he had buried his money? He answered, "That nobody but himself and the devil knew where it was, and the longest liver should take all.

Those of his crew who were taken alive told a story which may appear a little incredible; however, we think it will not be fair to omit it since we had it

from their own mouths. That once upon a cruise they found out that they had a man on board more than their crew; such a one was seen several days amongst them, sometimes below and sometimes upon deck, yet no man in the ship could give an account who he was, or from whence he came, but that he disappeared a little before they were cast away in their great ship; but it seems they verily believed it was the devil.

One would think these things should induce them to reform their lives, but so many reprobates together, encouraged and spirited one another up in their wickedness, to which a continual course of drinking did not a little contribute, for in Blackbeard's journal, which was taken, there were several memorandums of the following nature found writ with his own hand: Such a day rum all out; our company somewhat sober; a damned confusion amongst us; rouges a-plotting; great talk of separation; so I looked sharp for a prize; such a day took one with a great deal of liquor on board, so kept the company hot, damned hot, then all things went well again.

Thus it was these wretches passed their lives, with very little pleasure or satisfaction in the possession of what they violently take away from others, and sure to pay for it at last by an ignominious death.

The names of the pirates killed in the engagement, are as follows:—

Edward Teach, commander; Philip Morton, gunner; Garret Gibbens, boatswain; Owen Roberts, carpenter; Thomas Miller, quartermaster; John Husk, Joseph Curtice, Joseph Brooks (1), Nath. Jackson. All the rest, except the two last, were wounded, and afterwards hanged in Virginia:— John Carnes, Joseph Brooks (2), James Blake, John Gills, Thomas Gates, James White, Richard Stiles, Cæsar, Joseph Philips, James Robbins, John Martin, Edward Salter, Stephen Daniel, Richard Greensail, Israel Hands, pardoned, Samuel Odel, acquitted.

There were in the pirate sloops, and ashore in a tent near where the sloops lay, twenty-five hogsheads of sugar, eleven teirces, and one hundred and forty-five bags of cocoa, a barrel of indigo, and a bale of cotton; which, with what was taken from the governor and secretary, and the sale of the sloop, came to £2,500, besides the rewards paid by the governor of Virginia, pursuant to his proclamation; all which was divided among the companies of the two ships, *Lime* and *Pearl*, that lay in James River; the brave fellows that took them coming in for no more than their dividend amongst the rest, and were paid it not till four years afterwards.

II

CAPTAIN WILLIAM KID

We are now going to give an account of one whose name is better known in England than most of those whose histories we have already related; the person we mean is Captain Kid, whose public trial and execution here rendered him the subject of all conversation, so that his actions have been chanted about in ballads; however, it is now a considerable time since these things passed, and though the people knew in general that Captain Kid was hanged, and that his crime was piracy, yet there were scarce any, even at that time, who were acquainted with his life or actions, or could account for his turning pirate.

In the beginning of King William's war, Captain Kid commanded a privateer in the West Indies, and by several adventurous actions acquired the reputation of a brave man, as well as an experienced seaman. About this time the pirates were very troublesome in those parts, wherefore Captain Kid was recommended by the Lord Bellamont, then governor of Barbadoes, as well as by several other persons, to the Government here, as a person very fit to be entrusted with the command of a Government ship, and to be employed in cruising upon the pirates, as knowing those seas perfectly well, and being acquainted with all their lurking places; but what reasons governed the politics of those times I cannot

tell, but this proposal met with no encouragement here, though it is certain it would have been of great consequence to the subject, our merchants suffering incredible damages by those robbers.

Upon this neglect the Lord Bellamont and some others, who knew what great captures had been made by the pirates, and what a prodigious wealth must be in their possession, were tempted to fit out a ship at their own private charge, and to give the command of it to Captain Kid; and to give the thing a great reputation, as well as to keep their seamen under the better command, they procured the King's Commission for the said Captain Kid, of which the following is an exact copy:—

“WILLIAM REX,—William the Third, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our trusty and well-beloved Captain William Kid, Commander of the ship the *Adventure* galley, or to any other the commander of the same for the time being, greeting; Whereas we are informed, that Captain Thomas Too, John Ireland, Captain Thomas Wake, and Captain William Maze, or Mace, and other subjects, natives or inhabitants of New York, and elsewhere, in our plantations in America, have associated themselves, with divers others, wicked and ill-disposed persons, and do, against the law of nations, commit many and great piracies, robberies, and depredations on the seas upon the parts of America, and in other parts, to the great hindrance and discouragement of trade and navigation, and to the great danger and hurt of our loving subjects, our allies, and all others, navigating the seas upon their lawful occasions. Now know ye, that we being

desirous to prevent the aforesaid mischiefs, and, as much as in us lies, to bring the said pirates, freebooters and sea-rovers to justice, have thought fit, and do hereby give and grant to the said William Kid (to whom our Commissioners for exercising the office of Lord High Admiral of England, have granted a commission as a private man-of-war, bearing date December 11, 1695), and unto the commander of the said ship for the time being, and unto the officers, mariners, and others, which shall be under your command, full power and authority to apprehend, seize, and take into your custody as well the said Captain Thomas Too, John Ireland, Captain Thomas Wake, and Captain William Maze, or Mace, as all such pirates, freebooters and sea-rovers, being either our subjects, or of other nations associated with them, which you shall meet with upon the seas or coasts of America, or upon any other seas or coasts, with all their ships and vessels; and all such merchandises, money, goods, and wares as shall be found on board, or with them, in case they shall willingly yield themselves; but if they will not yield without fighting, then you are by force to compel them to yield. And we do also require you to bring, or cause to be brought, such pirates, freebooters, or sea-rovers, as you shall seize, to a legal trial, to the end they may be proceeded against according to the law in such cases. And we do hereby command all our officers, ministers, and other our loving subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting to you in the premisses. And we do hereby enjoin you to keep an exact journal of your proceedings in the execution of the premisses, and set down the names of such pirates, and of their officers and company, and the names of such ships and vessels as you shall by virtue of these presents take and seize, and the quantities of arms, ammunition, provision, and lading of such ships, and the true

value of the same, as near as you judge. And we do hereby strictly charge and command you as you will answer the contrary at your peril, that you do not, in any manner, offend or molest our friends or allies, their ships, or subjects, by colour or pretence of these presents, or the authority thereby granted. In witness whereof we have caused our Great Seal of England to be affixed to these presents. Given at our Court of Kensington, the 26th day of January, 1695, in the seventh year of our reign."

Captain Kid had also another commission, which was called a Commission of Reprisals; for it being then war time, this commission was to justify him in the taking of French merchant ships, in case he should meet with any.

With these two commissions he sailed out of Plymouth in May, 1696, in the *Adventure* galley of thirty guns and eighty men. The place he first designed for was New York; in his voyage thither he took a French banker, but this was no act of piracy, he having a commission for that purpose, as we have just observed.

When he arrived at New York he put up articles for engaging more hands, it being necessary to his ship's crew, since he proposed to deal with a desperate enemy. The terms he offered were that every man should have a share of what was taken, reserving for himself and owners forty shares. Upon which encouragement he soon increased his company to a hundred and fifty-five men.

With this company he sailed first for Madeira.

where he took in wine and some other necessities; from thence he proceeded to Bonavist, one of the Cape de Verde islands, to furnish the ship with salt, and from thence went immediately to St. Jago, another of the Cape de Verde islands, in order to stock himself with provisions. When all this was done he bent his course to Madagascar, the known rendezvous of pirates. In his way he fell in with Captain Warren, commodore of three men-of-war; he acquainted them with his design, kept them company two or three days, and then leaving them made the best way for Madagascar, where he arrived in February, 1696, just nine months from his departure from Plymouth.

It happened that at this time the pirate ships were most of them out in search of prey, so that, according to the best intelligence Captain Kid could get, there was not one of them at this time about the island, wherefore, having spent some time in watering his ship and taking in more provisions, he thought of trying his fortune on the coast of Malabar, where he arrived in the month of June following, four months from his reaching Madagascar. Hereabouts he made an unsuccessful cruise, touching sometimes at the island of Mahala, sometimes at that of Joanna, between Malabar and Madagascar. His provisions were every day wasting, and his ship began to want repair; wherefore, when he was at Joanna, he found means of borrowing a sum of money from some Frenchmen who had lost their

ship, but saved their effects, and with this he purchased materials for putting his ship in good repair.

It does not appear all this while that he had the least design of turning pirate, for near Mahala and Joanna both he met with several Indian ships richly laden, to which he did not offer the least violence, though he was strong enough to have done what he pleased with them; and the first outrage or depredation I find he committed upon mankind was after his repairing his ship and leaving Joanna. He touched at a place called Mabbee, upon the Red Sea, where he took some Guinea corn from the natives, by force.

After this he sailed to Bab's Key, a place upon a little island at the entrance of the Red Sea. Here it was that he first began to open himself to his ship's company, and let them understand that he intended to change his measures; for, happening to talk of the Moca fleet which was to sail that way, he said, "We have been unsuccessful hitherto; but courage, my boys, we'll make our fortunes out of this fleet." And finding that none of them appeared averse to it he ordered a boat out, well manned, to go upon the coast to make discoveries, commanding them to take a prisoner and bring to him, or get intelligence any way they could. The boat returned in a few days, bringing him word that they saw fourteen or fifteen ships ready to sail, some with English, some with Dutch, and some with Moorish colors.

We cannot account for this sudden change in his conduct, otherwise than by supposing that he first meant well, while he had hopes of making his fortune by taking of pirates; but now, weary of ill-success, and fearing lest his owners, out of humor at their great expenses, should dismiss him, and he should want employment, and be marked out for an unlucky man—rather, I say, than run the hazard of poverty, he resolved to do his business one way, since he could not do it another.

He therefore ordered a man continually to watch at the mast-head, lest this fleet should go by them; and about four days after, towards evening it appeared in sight, being convoyed by one English and one Dutch man-of-war. Kid soon fell in with them, and, getting into the midst of them, fired at a Moorish ship which was next him; but the men-of-war, taking the alarm, bore down upon Kid, and, firing upon him, obliged him to sheer off, he not being strong enough to contend with them. Now he had begun hostilities he resolved to go on, and therefore he went and cruised along the coast of Malabar. The first prize he met was a small vessel belonging to Aden; the vessel was Moorish, and the owners were Moorish merchants, but the master was an Englishman; his name was Parker. Kid forced him and a Portuguese that was called Don Antonio, which were all the Europeans on board, to take on with them; the first he designed as a pilot, and the last as an interpreter. He also used the men very

cruelly, causing them to be hoisted up by the arms, and drubbed with a naked cutlass, to force them to discover whether they had money on board, and where it lay; but as they had neither gold nor silver on board he got nothing by his cruelty; however, he took from them a bale of pepper, and a bale of coffee, and so let them go.

A little time after he touched at Carawar, a place upon the same coast, where, before he arrived, the news of what he had done to the Moorish ship had reached them; for some of the English merchants there had received an account of it from the owners, who corresponded with them; wherefore, as soon as Kid came in, he was suspected to be the person who committed this piracy, and one Mr. Harvey and Mr. Mason, two of the English factory, came on board and asked for Parker and Antonio, the Portuguese, but Kid denied that he knew any such persons, having secured them both in a private place in the hold, where they were kept for seven or eight days, that is till Kid sailed from thence.

However, the coast was alarmed, and a Portuguese man-of-war was sent out to cruise. Kid met with her, and fought her about six hours, gallantly enough; but finding her too strong to be taken, he quitted her, for he was able to run away from her when he would. Then he went to a place called Porco, where he watered the ship, and bought a number of hogs of the natives to victual his company.

Soon after this he came up with a Moorish ship, the master whereof was a Dutchman, called Schipper Mitchel, and chased her under French colors, which, they observing, hoisted French colors too. When he came up with her he hailed her in French, and they, having a Frenchman on board, answered him in the same language; upon which he ordered them to send their boat on board. They were obliged to do so, and having examined who they were, and from whence they came, he asked the Frenchman, who was a passenger, if he had a French pass for himself? The Frenchman gave him to understand that he had. Then he told the Frenchman he must pass for captain, and "by G—d," says he, "you are the captain." The Frenchman durst not refuse doing as he would have him. The meaning of this was, that he would seize the ship as fair prize, and as if she had belonged to French subjects, according to a commission he had for that purpose; though, one would think, after what he had already done, that he need not have recourse to a quibble to give his actions a color.

In short, he took the cargo and sold it some time after; yet still he seemed to have some fears upon him lest these proceedings should have a bad end, for, coming up with a Dutch ship some time, when his men thought of nothing but attacking her, Kid opposed it; upon which a mutiny arose, and the majority being for taking the said ship, and arming themselves to man the boat to go and seize her, he

told them, such as did, never should come on board him again, which put an end to the design, so that he kept company with the said ship some time, without offering her any violence. However, this dispute was the occasion of an accident, upon which an indictment was afterwards grounded against Kid; for Moor, the gunner, being one day upon deck, and talking with Kid about the said Dutch ship, some words arose between them, and Moor told Kid that he had ruined them all; upon which Kid, calling him dog, took up a bucket and struck him with it, which, breaking his skull, he died the next day.

But Kid's penitential fit did not last long, for, coasting along Malabar, he met with a great number of boats, all which he plundered. Upon the same coast he also lighted upon a Portuguese ship, which he kept possession of a week, and then, having taken out of her some chests of Indian goods, thirty jars of butter, with some wax, iron, and a hundred bags of rice, he let her go.

Much about the same time he went to one of the Malabar islands for wood and water, and his cooper, being ashore, was murdered by the natives; upon which Kid himself landed, and burnt and pillaged several of their houses, the people running away; but having taken one, he caused him to be tied to a tree, and commanded one of his men to shoot him; then putting to sea again he took the greatest prize which fell into his hands while he followed his trade.

This was a Moorish ship of four hundred tons, richly laden, named the *Queda*, merchant, the master whereof was an Englishman—he was called Wright, for the Indians often make use of English or Dutch men to command their ships, their own mariners not being so good artists in navigation. Kid chased her under French colors, and, having come up with her, he ordered her to hoist out her boat and to send on board of him, which, being done, he told Wright he was his prisoner; and informing himself concerning the said ship, he understood there were no Europeans on board except two Dutch, and one Frenchman, all the rest being Indians or Armenians, and that the Armenians were part owners of the cargo. Kid gave the Armenians to understand that if they would offer anything that was worth his taking for their ransom, he would hearken to it; upon which they proposed to pay him twenty thousand rupees, not quite three thousand pounds sterling; but Kid judged this would be making a bad bargain, wherefore he rejected it, and setting the crew on shore at different places on the coast, he soon sold as much of the cargo as came to near ten thousand pounds. With part of it he also trafficked, receiving in exchange provisions or such other goods as he wanted. By degrees he disposed of the whole cargo, and when the division was made it came to about two hundred pounds a man, and, having reserved forty shares to himself, his dividend amounted to about eight thousand pounds sterling.

The Indians along the coast came on board and trafficked with all freedom, and he punctually performed his bargains, till about the time he was ready to sail; and then, thinking he should have no further occasion for them, he made no scruple of taking their goods and setting them on shore without any payment in money or goods, which they little expected; for as they had been used to deal with pirates, they always found them men of honor in the way of trade—a people, enemies to deceit, and that scorned to rob but in their own way.

Kid put some of his men on board the *Queda*, merchant, and with this ship and his own sailed for Madagascar. As soon as he was arrived and had cast anchor there came on board of him a canoe, in which were several Englishmen who had formerly been well acquainted with Kid. As soon as they saw him they saluted him and told him they were informed he was come to take them, and hang them, which would be a little unkind in such an old acquaintance. Kid soon dissipated their doubts by swearing he had no such design, and that he was now in every respect their brother, and just as bad as they, and, calling for a cup of bomboo, drank their captain's health.

These men belonged to a pirate ship, called the *Resolution*, formerly the *Mocco*, merchant, whereof one Captain Culliford was commander, and which lay at an anchor not far from them. Kid went on board with them, promising them his friendship and

assistance, and Culliford in his turn came on board of Kid; and Kid, to testify his sincerity in iniquity, finding Culliford in want of some necessaries, made him a present of an anchor and some guns, to fit him out for the sea again.

The *Adventure* galley was now so old and leaky that they were forced to keep two pumps continually going, wherefore Kid shifted all the guns and tackle out of her into the *Queda*, merchant, intending her for his man-of-war; and as he had divided the money before, he now made a division of the remainder of the cargo. Soon after which the greatest part of the company left him, some going on board Captain Culliford, and others absconding in the country, so that he had not above forty men left.

He put to sea and happened to touch at Amboyna, one of the Dutch spice islands, where he was told that the news of his actions had reached England, and that he was there declared a pirate.

The truth of it is, his piracies so alarmed our merchants that some motions were made in Parliament, to inquire into the commission that was given him, and the persons who fitted him out. These proceedings seemed to lean a little hard upon the Lord Bellamont, who thought himself so much touched thereby that he published a justification of himself in a pamphlet after Kid's execution. In the meantime it was thought advisable, in order to stop the course of these piracies, to publish a proclamation, offering the king's free pardon to all such pirates as

should voluntarily surrender themselves, whatever piracies they had been guilty of at any time, before the last day of April, 1699. That is to say, for all piracies committed eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, to the longitude and meridian of Socatora and Cape Camorin. In which proclamation Avery * and Kid were excepted by name.

When Kid left Amboyna he knew nothing of this proclamation, for certainly had he had notice of his being excepted in it he would not have been so infatuated to run himself into the very jaws of danger; but relying upon his interest with the Lord Bellamont, and fancying that a French pass or two he found on board some of the ships he took would serve to countenance the matter, and that part of the booty he got would gain him new friends—I say, all these things made him flatter himself that all would be hushed, and that justice would but wink at him. Wherefore he sailed directly for New York, where he was no sooner arrived but by the Lord Bellamont's orders he was secured with all his papers and effects. Many of his fellow-adventurers who had forsook him at Madagascar, came over from thence passengers, some to New England, and some to Jersey, where, hearing of the king's proclamation for pardoning of pirates, they surrendered themselves to the governor of those places. At first they were admitted to bail, but soon after were laid

* Avery was called "The King of the Pirates." See "The Daughter of the Great Mogul."

in strict confinement, where they were kept for some time, till an opportunity happened of sending them with their captain over to England to be tried.

Accordingly, a Sessions of Admiralty being held at the Old Bailey, in May, 1701, Captain Kid, Nicholas Churchill, James How, Robert Lumley, William Jenkins, Gabriel Loff, Hugh Parrot, Richard Barlicorn, Abel Owens, and Darby Mullins, were arraigned for piracy and robbery on the high seas, and all found guilty except three: these were Robert Lumley, William Jenkins, and Richard Barlicorn, who, proving themselves to be apprentices to some of the officers of the ship, and producing their indentures in court, were acquitted.

The three above mentioned, though they were proved to be concerned in taking and sharing the ship and goods mentioned in the indictment, yet, as the gentlemen of the long robe rightly distinguished, there was a great difference between their circumstances and the rest; for there must go an intention of the mind and a freedom of the will to the committing an act of felony or piracy. A pirate is not to be understood to be under constraint, but a free agent; for, in this case, the bare act will not make a man guilty, unless the will make it so.

Kid was tried upon an indictment of murder also—viz., for killing Moor, the gunner—and found guilty of the same.

As to Captain Kid's defense, he insisted much upon his own innocence, and the villainy of his men.

He said he went out in a laudable employment, and had no occasion, being then in good circumstances, to go a-pirating; that the men often mutinied against him, and did as they pleased; that he was threatened to be shot in his cabin, and that ninety-five left him at one time, and set fire to his boat, so that he was disabled from bringing his ship home, or the prizes he took, to have them regularly condemned, which he said were taken by virtue of a commission under the broad seal, they having French passes. The captain called on Colonel Hewson to his reputation, who gave him an extraordinary character, and declared to the court that he had served under his command, and been in two engagements with him against the French, in which he fought as well as any man he ever saw; that there were only Kid's ship and his own against Monsieur du Cass, who commanded a squadron of six sail, and they got the better of him. But this being several years before the facts mentioned in the indictment were committed, proved of no manner of service to the prisoner on his trial.

As to the friendship shown to Culliford, a notorious pirate, Kid denied, and said he intended to have taken him, but his men, being a parcel of rogues and villains, refused to stand by him, and several of them ran away from his ship to the said pirate. But the evidence being full and particular against him, he was found guilty as before mentioned.

When Kid was asked what he had to say why

sentence should not pass against him, he answered that "he had nothing to say, but that he had been sworn against by perjured, wicked people." And when sentence was pronounced, he said, "My lord, it is a very hard sentence. For my part I am the innocentest person of them all, only I have been sworn against by perjured persons."

Wherefore, about a week after, Captain Kid, Nicholas Churchill, James How, Gabriel Loff, Hugh Parrot, Abel Owen, and Darby Mullins, were executed at Execution Dock, and afterwards hung up in chains, at some distance from each other down the river, where their bodies hung exposed for many years.

III

CAPTAIN BARTHOLOMEW ROBERTS AND HIS CREW

Bartholomew Roberts sailed in an honest employ from London, aboard of the *Princess*, Captain Plumb, commander, of which ship he was second mate. He left England November, 1719, and arrived at Guinea about February following and being at Anamaboe, taking in slaves for the West Indies, was taken in the said ship by Captain Howel Davis. In the beginning he was very averse to this sort of life, and would certainly have escaped from them had a fair opportunity presented itself; yet afterwards he changed his principles, as many besides him have done upon another element, and perhaps for the same reason too, viz., preferment; and

what he did not like as a private man he could reconcile to his conscience as a commander.

Davis having been killed in the Island of Princes whilst planning to capture it with all its inhabitants, the company found themselves under the necessity of filling up his post, for which there appeared two or three candidates among the select part of them that were distinguished by the title of Lords—such were Sympson, Ashplant, Anstis, &c.—and on canvassing this matter, how shattered and weak a condition their government must be without a head, since Davis had been removed in the manner before mentioned, my Lord Dennis proposed, it is said, over a bowl, to this purpose:

“That it was not of any great signification who was dignified with title, for really and in good truth all good governments had, like theirs, the supreme power lodged with the community, who might doubtless depute and revoke as suited interest or humor. We are the original of this claim,” says he, “and should a captain be so saucy as to exceed prescription at any time, why, down with him! It will be a caution after he is dead to his successors of what fatal consequence any sort of assuming may be. However, it is my advice that while we are sober we pitch upon a man of courage and skilled in navigation, one who by his council and bravery seems best able to defend this commonwealth, and ward us from the dangers and tempests of an unstable element, and the fatal consequences of anarchy; and

such a one I take Roberts to be—a fellow, I think, in all respects worthy your esteem and favor.”

This speech was loudly applauded by all but Lord Sympson, who had secret expectations himself, but on this disappointment grew sullen and left them, swearing “he did not care who they chose captain so it was not a papist, for against them he had conceived an irreconcilable hatred, for that his father had been a sufferer in Monmouth’s rebellion.”

Roberts was accordingly elected, though he had not been above six weeks among them. The choice was confirmed both by the Lords and Commoners, and he accepted of the honor, saying that, since he had dipped his hands in muddy water and must be a pirate, it was better being a commander than a common man.

As soon as the government was settled, by promoting other officers in the room of those that were killed by the Portuguese, the company resolved to avenge Captain Davis’s death, he being more than ordinarily respected by the crew for his affability and good nature, as well as his conduct and bravery upon all occasions; and, pursuant to this resolution, about thirty men were landed, in order to make an attack upon the fort, which must be ascended to by a steep hill against the mouth of the cannon. These men were headed by one Kennedy, a bold, daring fellow, but very wicked and profligate; they marched directly up under the fire of their ship guns, and as soon as they were discovered, the Portuguese

quitted their post and fled to the town, and the pirates marched in without opposition, set fire to the fort, and threw all the guns off the hill into the sea, which after they had done they retreated quietly to their ship.

But this was not looked upon as a sufficient satisfaction for the injury they received, therefore most of the company were for burning the town, which Roberts said he would yield to if any means could be proposed of doing it without their own destruction, for the town had a securer situation than the fort, a thick wood coming almost close to it, affording cover to the defendants, who, under such an advantage, he told them, it was to be feared, would fire and stand better to their arms; beside, that bare houses would be but a slender reward for their trouble and loss. This prudent advice prevailed; however, they mounted the French ship they seized at this place with twelve guns, and lightened her, in order to come up to the town, the water being shoal, and battered down several houses; after which they all returned on board, gave back the French ship to those that had most right to her, and sailed out of the harbor by the light of two Portuguese ships, which they were pleased to set on fire there.

Roberts stood away to the southward, and met with a Dutch Guineaman, which he made prize of, but, after having plundered her, the skipper had his ship again. Two days after he took an English ship, called the *Experiment*, Captain Cornet, at

Cape Lopez; the men went all into the pirate service, and having no occasion for the ship they burnt her and then steered for St. Thome, but meeting with nothing in their way, they sailed for Annabona, and there watered, took in provisions, and put it to a vote of the company whether their next voyage should be to the East Indies or to Brazil. The latter being resolved on, they sailed accordingly, and in twenty-eight days arrived at Ferdinando, an uninhabited island on that coast. Here they watered, boot-topped their ship, and made ready for the designed cruise.

Upon this coast our rovers cruised for about nine weeks, keeping generally out of sight of land, but without seeing a sail, which discouraged them so that they determined to leave the station and steer for the West Indies; and, in order thereto, stood in to make the land for the taking of their departure; and thereby they fell in unexpectedly with a fleet of forty-two sail of Portuguese ships off the bay of Los Todos Santos, with all their lading in, for Lisbon, several of them of good force, who lay-to waiting for two men-of-war of seventy guns each, their convoy. However, Roberts thought it should go hard with him, but he would make up his market among them, and thereupon mixed with the fleet, and kept his men hid till proper resolutions could be formed. That done, they came close up to one of the deepest, and ordered her to send the master on board quietly, threatening to give them no quarter if

any resistance or signal of distress was made. The Portuguese, being surprised at these threats, and the sudden flourish of cutlasses from the pirates, submitted without a word, and the captain came on board. Roberts saluted him after a friendly manner telling him that they were gentlemen of fortune, but that their business with him was only to be informed which was the richest ship in that fleet; and if he directed them right he should be restored to his ship without molestation, otherwise he must expect immediate death.

Whereupon this Portuguese master pointed to one of forty guns and a hundred and fifty men, a ship of greater force than the *Rover*; but this no ways dismayed them; they were Portuguese, they said, and so immediately steered away for him. When they came within hail, the master whom they had prisoner was ordered to ask "how Seignior Captain did?" and to invite him on board, "for that he had a matter of consequence to impart to him;" which being done, he returned for answer that "he would wait upon him presently," but by the bustle that immediately followed, the pirates perceived that they were discovered, and that this was only a deceitful answer to gain time to put their ship in a posture of defense; so without further delay they poured in a broadside, boarded, and grappled her. The dispute was short and warm, wherein many of the Portuguese fell, and two only of the pirates. By this time the fleet was alarmed: signals of top-gallant

sheets flying and guns fired to give notice to the men-of-war, who rid still at an anchor, and made but scurvy haste out to their assistance; and if what the pirates themselves related to be true, the commanders of those ships were blameable to the highest degree, and unworthy the title, or so much as the name, of men. For Roberts, finding the prize to sail heavy, and yet resolving not to lose her, lay by for the headmost of them, which much outsailed the other, and prepared for battle, which was ignominiously declined, though of such superior force; for, not daring to venture on the pirate alone, he tarried so long for his consort as gave them both time leisurely to make off.

They found this ship exceedingly rich, being laden chiefly with sugar, skins, and tobacco, and in gold forty thousand moidores, besides chains and trinkets of considerable value; particularly a cross set with diamonds designed for the king of Portugal, which they afterwards presented to the governor of Caiana, by whom they were obliged.

Elated with this booty, they had nothing now to think of but some safe retreat where they might give themselves up to all the pleasures that luxury and wantonness could bestow; and for the present pitched upon a place called the Devil's Islands in the river of Surinam, on the coast of Caiana, where they arrived, and found the civilest reception imaginable, not only from the governor and factory, but

their wives, who exchanged wares, and drove a considerable trade with them.

They seized in this river a sloop, and by her gained intelligence that a brigantine had also sailed in company with her from Rhode Island, laden with provisions for the coast—a welcome cargo! They growing short in the sea store, and, as Sancho says, “No adventures to be made without belly-timber.” One evening, as they were rummaging their mine of treasure, the Portuguese prize, this expected vessel was descried at the masthead, and Roberts, imagining nobody could do the business so well as himself, takes forty men in the sloop, and goes in pursuit of her; but a fatal accident followed this rash, though inconsiderable adventure, for Roberts, thinking of nothing less than bringing in the brigantine that afternoon, never troubled his head about the sloop’s provision, nor inquired what there was on board to subsist such a number of men; but out he sails after his expected prize, which he not only lost further sight of, but after eight days’ contending with contrary winds and currents, found themselves thirty leagues to leeward. The current still opposing their endeavors, and perceiving no hopes of beating up to their ship, they came to an anchor, and inconsiderately sent away the boat to give the rest of the company notice of their condition, and to order the ship to them; but too soon—even the next day—their wants made them sensible of their infatuation, for their water was all expended, and they

had taken no thought how they should be supplied till either the ship came or the boat returned, which was not likely to be under five or six days. Here, like Tantalus, they almost famished in sight of the fresh streams and lakes, being drove to such extremity at last that they were forced to tear up the floor of the cabin and patch up a sort of tub or tray with ropeyarns to paddle ashore and fetch off immediate supplies of water to preserve life.

After some days the long-wished-for boat came back, but with the most unwelcome news in the world; for Kennedy, who was lieutenant, and left, in absence of Roberts, to command the privateer and prize, was gone off with both. This was mortification with a vengeance, and you may imagine they did not depart without some hard speeches from those that were left and had suffered by their treachery. And that there need be no further mention of this Kennedy, I shall leave Captain Roberts to vent his wrath in a few oaths and execrations, and follow the other, whom we may reckon from that time as steering his course towards Execution Dock.

Kennedy was now chosen captain of the revolted crew, but could not bring his company to any determined resolution. Some of them were for pursuing the old game, but the greater part of them seemed to have inclinations to turn from those evil courses, and get home privately, for there was no act of pardon in force; therefore they agreed to break up, and every man to shift for himself, as he should

see occasion. The first thing they did was to part with the great Portuguese prize, and having the master of the sloop (whose name, I think, was Cane) aboard, who, they said, was a very honest fellow—for he had humored them upon every occasion—told them of the brigantine that Roberts went after; and when the pirates first took him he complimented them at any odd rate, telling them they were welcome to his sloop and cargo, and wished that the vessel had been larger and the loading richer for their sakes. To this good-natured man they gave the Portuguese ship, which was then above half loaded, three or four negroes, and all his own men, who returned thanks to his kind benefactors, and departed.

Captain Kennedy, in the *Rover*, sailed to Barbadoes, near which island they took a very peaceable ship belonging to Virginia. The commander was a Quaker, whose name was Knot; he had neither pistol, sword, nor cutlass on board; and Mr. Knot appearing so very passive to all they said to him, some of them thought this a good opportunity to go off; and accordingly eight of the pirates went aboard, and he carried them safe to Virginia. They made the Quaker a present of ten chests of sugar, ten rolls of Brazil tobacco, thirty moidores, and some gold dust, in all to the value of about £250. They also made presents to the sailors, some more, some less, and lived a jovial life all the while they were upon their voyage, Captain Knot giving them

their way; nor, indeed, could he help himself, unless he had taken an opportunity to surprise them when they were either drunk or asleep, for awake they wore arms aboard the ship and put him in a continual terror, it not being his principle (or the sect's) to fight, unless with art and collusion. He managed these weapons well till he arrived at the Capes; and afterwards four of the pirates went off in a boat, which they had taken with them for the more easily making their escapes, and made up the bay towards Maryland, but were forced back by a storm into an obscure place of the country, where, meeting with good entertainment among the planters, they continued several days without being discovered to be pirates. In the meantime Captain Knot, leaving four others on board his ship who intended to go to North Carolina, made what haste he could to discover to Mr. Spotswood, the governor, what sort of passengers he had been forced to bring with him, who, by good fortune, got them seized; and search being made after the others, who were revelling about the country, they were also taken, and all tried, convicted, and hanged; two Portuguese Jews, who were taken on the coast of Brazil and whom they brought with them to Virginia, being the principal evidences. The latter had found means to lodge part of their wealth with the planters, who never brought it to account. But Captain Knot surrendered up everything that belonged to them that were taken aboard, even what they

presented to him, in lieu of such things as they had plundered him of in their passage, and obliged his men to do the like.

Some days after the taking of the Virginianman last mentioned, in cruising in the latitude of Jamaica, Kennedy took a sloop bound thither from Boston, loaded with bread and flour; aboard of this sloop went all the hands who were for breaking the gang, and left those behind that had a mind to pursue further adventures. Among the former was Kennedy, their captain, of whose honor they had such a despicable notion that they were about to throw him overboard when they found him in the sloop, as fearing he might betray them all at their return to England; he having in his childhood been bred a pick-pocket, and before he became a pirate a house-breaker; both professions that these gentlemen have a very mean opinion of. However, Captain Kennedy, by taking solemn oaths of fidelity to his companions, was suffered to proceed with them.

In this company there was but one that pretended to any skill in navigation (for Kennedy could neither write nor read, he being preferred to the command merely for his courage, which indeed he had often signalized, particularly in taking the Portuguese ship), and he proved to be a pretender only; for, shaping their course to Ireland, where they agreed to land, they ran away to the north-west coast of Scotland, and there were tossed about by hard storms of wind for several days without

knowing where they were, and in great danger of perishing. At length they pushed the vessel into a little creek and went all ashore, leaving the sloop at an anchor for the next comers.

The whole company refreshed themselves at a little village about five miles from the place where they left the sloop, and passed there for shipwrecked sailors, and no doubt might have travelled on without suspicion, but the mad and riotous manner of their living on the road occasioned their journey to be cut short, as we shall observe presently.

Kennedy and another left them here, and, travelling to one of the seaports, shipped themselves for Ireland, and arrived there in safety. Six or seven wisely withdrew from the rest, travelled at their leisure, and got to their much-desired port of London without being disturbed or suspected, but the main gang alarmed the country wherever they came, drinking and roaring at such a rate that the people shut themselves up in their houses, in some places not daring to venture out among so many mad fellows. In other villages they treated the whole town, squandering their money away as if, like *Æsop*, they wanted to lighten their burthens. This expensive manner of living procured two of their drunken stragglers to be knocked on the head, they being found murdered in the road and their money taken from them. All the rest, to the number of seventeen, as they drew nigh to Edinburgh,

were arrested and thrown into gaol upon suspicion of they knew not what; however, the magistrates were not long at a loss for proper accusations, for two of the gang offering themselves for evidences were accepted of, and the others were brought to a speedy trial, whereof nine were convicted and executed.

Kennedy having spent all his money, came over from Ireland and kept a public-house on Deptford Road, and now and then it was thought, made an excursion abroad in the way of his former profession, till one of his household gave information against him for a robbery, for which he was committed to Bridewell; but because she would not do the business by halves she found out a mate of a ship that Kennedy had committed piracy upon, as he foolishly confessed to her. This mate, whose name was Grant, paid Kennedy a visit in Bridewell, and knowing him to be the man, procured a warrant, and had him committed to the Marshalsea prison.

The game that Kennedy had now to play was to turn evidence himself; accordingly he gave a list of eight or ten of his comrades, but, not being acquainted with their habitations, one only was taken, who, though condemned, appeared to be a man of a fair character, was forced into their service, and took the first opportunity to get from them, and therefore received a pardon; but Walter Kennedy, being a notorious offender, was executed July 19, 1721, at Execution Dock.

The rest of the pirates who were left in the ship *Rover* stayed not long behind, for they went ashore to one of the West India islands. What became of them afterwards I cannot tell, but the ship was found at sea by a sloop belonging to *St. Christophers*, and carried into that island with only nine negroes aboard.

Thus we see what a disastrous fate ever attends the wicked, and how rarely they escape the punishment due to their crimes. who, abandoned to such a profligate life, rob, spoil, and prey upon mankind, contrary to the light and law of nature, as well as the law of God. It might have been hoped that the examples of these deaths would have been as marks to the remainder of this gang, how to shun the rocks their companions had split on; that they would have surrendered to mercy, or divided themselves for ever from such pursuits, as in the end they might be sure would subject them to the same law and punishment, which they must be conscious they now equally deserved: impending law, which never let them sleep well unless when drunk. But all the use that was made of it here, was to commend the justice of the court that condemned Kennedy, for he was a sad dog, they said, and deserved the fate he met with.

But to go back to Roberts, whom we left on the coast of Caiana, in a grievous passion at what Kennedy and the crew had done, and who was now projecting new adventures with his small company

in the sloop; but finding hitherto they had been but as a rope of sand, they formed a set of articles to be signed and sworn to for the better conservation of their society, and doing justice to one another, excluding all Irishmen from the benefit of it, to whom they had an implacable aversion upon the account of Kennedy. How, indeed, Roberts could think that an oath would be obligatory where defiance had been given to the laws of God and man, I cannot tell, but he thought their greatest security lay in this—"that it was every one's interest to observe them, if they minded to keep up so abominable a combination."

The following is the substance of articles as taken from the pirates own informations:—

I

Every man has a vote in affairs of moment, has equal title to the fresh provisions or strong liquors at any time seized, and may use them at pleasure, unless a scarcity (no uncommon thing among them) make it necessary for the good of all to vote a retrenchment.

II

Every man to be called fairly in turn by list, on board of prizes, because, over and above their proper share, they were on these occasions allowed a shift of clothes. But if they defrauded the company to the value of a dollar, in plate, jewels, or money, marooning was their punishment. (This

was a barbarous custom of putting the offender on shore, on some desolate or uninhabited cape or island, with a gun, a few shot, a bottle of water, a bottle of powder, to subsist with or starve.) If the robbery was only between one another, they contented themselves with slitting the ears and nose of him that was guilty, and set him on shore, not in an uninhabited place, but somewhere where he was sure to encounter hardships.

III

No person to game at cards or dice for money.

IV

The lights and candles to be put out at eight o'clock at night. If any of the crew after that hour still remained inclined for drinking, they were to do it on the open deck. (Which Roberts believed would give a check to their debauches, for he was a sober man himself, but found at length that all his endeavors to put an end to this debauch proved ineffectual.)

V

To keep their piece, pistols, and cutlass clean, and fit for service. (In this they were extravagantly nice, endeavoring to outdo one another in the beauty and richness of their arms, giving sometimes at an auction—at the mast—£30 or £40 a pair for pistols. These were slung in time of service, with different colored ribbons, over their shoulders, in a way peculiar to these fellows, in which they took great delight.)

VI

No boy or woman to be allowed amongst them. If any man were found seducing any of the latter sex, and carried her to sea disguised, he was to suffer death. (So that when any fell into their hands, as it chanced in the *Onslow*, they put a sentinel immediately over her to prevent ill consequences from so dangerous an instrument of division and quarrel; but then here lies the roguery—they contend who shall be sentinel, which happens generally to one of the greatest bullies.

VII

To desert the ship or their quarters in battle, was punished with death or marooning.

VIII

No striking one another on board, but every man's quarrel to be ended on shore, at sword and pistol. Thus the quartermaster of the ship, when the parties will not come to any reconciliation, accompanies them on shore with what assistance he thinks proper, and turns the disputants back to back at so many paces distance. At the word of command they turn and fire immediately, or else the piece is knocked out of their hands. If both miss, they come to their cutlasses, and then he is declared victor who draws the first blood.

IX

No man to talk of breaking up their way of living till each had shared £1,000. If, in order to this,

any man should lose a limb, or become a cripple in their service, he was to have 800 dollars out of the public stock, and for lesser hurts proportionably.

X

The captain and quartermaster to receive two shares of a prize; the master, boatswain, and gunner, one share and a half, the other officers one and a quarter.

XI

The musicians to have rest on the Sabbath-day, but the other six days and nights none without special favor.

These, we are assured, were some of Roberts's articles, but as they had taken care to throw overboard the original they had signed and sworn to, there is a great deal of room to suspect the remainder contained something too horrid to be disclosed to any, except such as were willing to be sharers in the iniquity of them. Let them be what they will, they were together the test of all newcomers, who were initiated by an oath taken on a Bible, reserved for that purpose only, and were subscribed to in presence of the worshipful Mr. Roberts. And in case any doubt should arise concerning the construction of these laws, and it should remain a dispute whether the party had infringed them or no, a jury was appointed to explain them, and bring in a verdict upon the case in doubt.

Since we are now speaking of the laws of this

company, I shall go on, and, in as brief a manner as I can, relate the principal customs and government of this roguish commonwealt, which are pretty near the same with all pirates.

For the punishment of small offences which are not provided for by the articles, and which are not of consequence enough to be left to a jury, there is a principal officer among the pirates, called the quartermaster, of the men's own choosing, who claims all authority this way, excepting in time of battle. If they disobey his command, are quarrelsome and mutinous with one another, misuse prisoners, plunder beyond his order, and in particular, if they be negligent of their arms, which he musters at discretion, he punishes at his own arbitrament, with drubbing or whipping, which no one else dare do without incurring the lash from all the ship's company. In short, this officer is trustee for the whole, is the first on board any prize, separating for the company's use what he pleases, and returning what he thinks fit to the owners, excepting gold and silver, which they have voted not returnable.

After a description of the quartermaster and his duty, who acts as a sort of civil magistrate on board a pirate ship, I shall consider their military officer, the captain; what privileges he exerts in such anarchy and unruliness of the members. Why, truly very little—they only permit him to be captain, on condition that they may be captain over him; they separate to his use the great cabin, and

sometimes vote him small parcels of plate and china (for it may be noted that Roberts drank his tea constantly), but then every man, as the humor takes him, will use the plate and china, intrude into his apartment, swear at him, seize a part of his victuals and drink, if they like it, without his offering to find fault or contest it. Yet Roberts, by a better management than usual, became the chief director in everything of moment; and it happened thus:—The rank of captain being obtained by the suffrage of the majority, it falls on one superior for knowledge and boldness—pistol proof, as they call it—who can make those fear who do not love him. Roberts is said to have exceeded his fellows in these respects, and when advanced, enlarged the respect that followed it by making a sort of privy council of half a dozen of the greatest bullies, such as were his competitors, and had interest enough to make his government easy; yet even those, in the latter part of his reign, he had run counter to in every project that opposed his own opinion; for which, and because he grew reserved and would not drink and roar at their rate, a cabal was formed to take away his captainship, which death did more effectually.

The captain's power is uncontrollable in chase or in battle, drubbing, cutting, or even shooting any one who dares deny his command. The same privilege he takes over prisoners, who receive good or ill usage mostly as he approves of their behavior, for though the meanest would take upon them to mis-

use a master of a ship, yet he would control herein when he sees it, and merrily over a bottle give his prisoners this double reason for it: first, that it preserved his precedence; and secondly, that it took the punishment out of the hands of a much more rash and mad set of fellows than himself. When he found that rigor was not expected from his people (for he often practiced it to appease them), then he would give strangers to understand that it was pure inclination that induced him to a good treatment of them, and not any love or partiality to their persons; for, says he, "there is none of you but will hang me, I know, whenever you can clinch me within your power."

And now, seeing the disadvantages they were under for pursuing their plans, viz., a small vessel ill repaired, and without provisions or stores, they resolved, one and all, with the little supplies they could get, to proceed for the West Indies, not doubting to find a remedy for all these evils and to retrieve their loss.

In the latitude of Deseada, one of the islands, they took two sloops, which supplied them with provisions and other necessities, and a few days afterwards took a brigantine belonging to Rhode Island, and then proceeded to Barbadoes, off of which island they fell in with a Bristol ship of ten guns, in her voyage out, from whom they took abundance of clothes, some money, twenty-five bales of goods,

five barrels of powder, a cable, hawser, ten casks of oatmeal, six casks of beef, and several other goods, besides five of their men; and after they had detained her three days let her go, who, being bound for the aforesaid island, she acquainted the governor with what had happened as soon as she arrived.

Whereupon a Bristol galley that lay in the harbor was ordered to be fitted out with all imaginable expedition, of 20 guns and 80 men, there being then no man-of-war upon that station, and also a sloop with 10 guns and 40 men. The galley was commanded by one Captain Rogers, of Bristol, and the sloop by Captain Graves, of that island, and Captain Rogers, by a commission from the governor, was appointed commodore.

The second day after Rogers sailed out of the harbor he was discovered by Roberts, who, knowing nothing of their design, gave them chase. The Barbadoes ships kept an easy sail till the pirates came up with them, and then Roberts gave them a gun, expecting they would have immediately struck to his piratical flag; but instead thereof, he was forced to receive the fire of a broadside, with three huzzas at the same time, so that an engagement ensued; but Roberts, being hardly put to it, was obliged to crowd all the sail the sloop would bear to get off. The galley, sailing pretty well, kept company for a long while, keeping a constant fire, which galled the pirate; however, at length, by throwing

over their guns and other heavy goods, and thereby lightening the vessel, they, with much ado, got clear; but Roberts could never endure a Barbadoes man afterwards, and when any ships belonging to that island fell in his way, he was more particularly severe to them than others.

Captain Roberts sailed in the sloop to the island of Dominico, where he watered and got provisions of the inhabitants, to whom he gave goods in exchange. At this place he met with thirteen Englishmen, who had been set ashore by a French Guard de la Coste, belonging to Martinico, taken out of two New England ships that had been seized as prizes by the said French sloop. The men willingly entered with the pirates, and it proved a seasonable recruiting.

They stayed not long here, though they had immediate occasion for cleaning their sloop, but did not think this a proper place; and herein they judged right, for the touching at this island had like to have been their destruction, because they, having resolved to go away to the Granada Islands for the aforesaid purpose, by some accident it came to be known to the French colony, who, sending word to the governor of Martinico, he equipped and manned two sloops to go in quest of them. The pirates sailed directly for the Granadilloes, and hall'd into a lagoon at Corvocoo, where they cleaned with unusual dispatch, staying but a little above a week, by which expedition they missed of the Martinico

sloops only a few hours, Roberts sailing overnight and the French arriving the next morning. This was a fortunate escape, especially considering that it was not from any fears of their being discovered that they made so much haste from the island, but, as they had the impudence themselves to own, for the want of wine and women.

Thus narrowly escaped, they sailed for Newfoundland, and arrived upon the banks the latter end of June, 1720. They entered the harbor of Trepassi with their black colors flying, drums beating, and trumpets sounding. There were two-and-twenty vessels in the harbor, which the men all quitted upon the sight of the pirate, and fled ashore. It is impossible particularly to recount the destruction and havoc they made here, burning and sinking all the shipping except a Bristol galley, and destroying the fisheries and stages of the poor planters without remorse or compunction; for nothing is so deplorable as power in mean and ignorant hands—it makes men wanton and giddy, unconcerned at the misfortunes they are imposing on their fellow-creatures, and keeps them smiling at the mischiefs that bring themselves no advantage. They are like madmen that cast fire-brands, arrows, and death, and say, Are not we in sport?

NARRATIVE OF THE CAPTURE OF THE SHIP *DERBY*, 1735

CAPTAIN ANSELM

I FELL in with the Land of *Madagascar*, the Latitude of about 24 Degrees, 13 Minutes North: And some time before I had made it, I met with nothing but light Airs of Winds, and Calms, and continued so long. My People dropping down with the Scurvy, I took a small Still that I had, and distill'd Salt Water into Fresh. I allow'd them as much Pease and Flower as they could eat, that they might not eat any Salt Provision, tho' I boil'd it in fresh Water. I had been very liberal with my fresh Provision in my Passage, to my People, and the Passage so long, that I had hardly any left, and that only a few Fowls; and myself and Officers too had been much out of Order. At last, being got to the Northward of *Augustin* Bay, seeing my poor People fall down so very fast, it gave me very great Concern for them, but still was willing, in Hopes of Change of Wind, for *Johanna*. But the small Airs trifled with me, and what there were Northerly, a Current setting to the Southward, that what to do I could not well tell. To go into *Augustin* Bay I was very unwilling: I had two Boats came

off to me, the People talking tolerable good *English*. At last, my Doctor, *Sharp*, told me there were above Thirty People down with the Scurvy, and all the rest, even some of the Petty Officers, were touch'd with the same. If I did not soon put into Port, I plainly found I should have been in a bad Condition, for Men; I consulted with my Officers, to go into *Augustin* Bay, and we agreed, and bore away for it. Soon after, the Wind came Southerly, and I bore away for *Johanna*. A fine Passage I had, and anchor'd the next Day about Four in the Afternoon, being *Sept.* 13. I thank God I brought all my People in alive, and that is as much I can say of a good many of them. I had a Tent made ashore for them, and supplied them all that ever I could, and the Doctors assisting with every thing in their Way for their speedy Recovery. After I had been here a Fortnight, the Winds in the Day-time set in very fresh from the N. N. W. to the N. N. E. Finding the People recover so very slowly, what to do I could not tell. To go out with my People as bad as when they came in, I was not willing, but resolv'd to have Patience one Week more. I consulted with Mr. *Rogers*, my Chief-Mate, and told him that we must consider the Condition of the People, and how we met the Winds and Currents before we came in. The People of the Island told me, that this was about the time of Year for the Northerly Winds and Southerly Currents, and I told him I thought it better to trim all our

Casks, and fill what Water we could, fearing of a long Passage, if our Stay was a little longer. Mr. *Rogers* was of my Opinion. This I must say, I found the Cask not so well used in the Hold, as they ought to have been, which caus'd the Coopers more Work; neither did I make a little Noise about it, because I had more Words with my Chief and Second Mate, about my Third and Fourth Mate, than any thing else.

Having all my Water aboard, about 80 Tun, 25 Head of Oxen, &c., I sail'd the 13th of *October*, with several of my Men not recover'd; some I buried at *Johanna*, and some after, to the Number of Ten, or thereabouts. Having a fine Gale, I made all the Sail I could, except Studding-sails, which I thought needless. The Wind veer'd to the Northward, and I was resolved to make the *Mallabar* Course as soon as possible, for the Advantage of the Land and Sea Winds. I had one Passenger aboard, a sad troublesome wicked Fellow, whose Behaviour was so bad, that I could hardly forbear using him ill. I forbid my Officers keeping Company with him; but Mr. *B——s* would do it at all Events. I turn'd him once off the Quarter-Deck for being with him there, yet that did not avail. I came out one Night about half an Hour past Ten, my second Mate's Watch, and this *B——s's* Turn to sleep; and seeing a Light in his Cabin, I sent Mr. *Cuddon*, the second Mate, to him, to know how he would be able to sit up one Watch, and keep his

own. Upon this *B——s* came up half way the Steerage-Ladder, with his Pipe in his Hand, and talk'd to me very pertly; and that was not the first time. This put me into a Passion, to be so talk'd to by a Boy, that I did dismiss him for two or three Days, and then re-stated him, which was more than he deserv'd, for keeping Company with him for whom the the worst of Names is good enough, and those who recommended him to his Commission. *B——s* was told of this by Mr. *Rogers*, by my Orders, and I told him of it on the Quarter-Deck, and told him at the same time I was resolv'd to tell the Gentlemen at Home of ——; and ask'd him what he imagin'd they would think of him for keeping such swearing drunken Company. This was before I dismiss'd him.

Before I came in with the Land, hearing much talk of *Angria*,* by Capt. *Scarlet*, and Mr. *Rogers*, and of his great Force (for I had very little Notion of him before) I took care to put the Ship in a proper Posture of Defence: Powder-Chests on the Quarter-Deck, Poop, and Forecastle, a Puncheon fill'd with Water in the Main-top, a Hogshead in the Fore-top, and a Barrel in the Mizen-top, all fill'd with Water: Chests with good Coverings in the Tops for Grenado-Shells; all the small Arms, with 50 new ones in Readiness. My Ship being too deep to get the Gun-room Ports open, as the Gunner inform'd me, the Ship *sending*, and the Sea

* A noted pirate.

washing above the Tops of the Ports; I got those Guns into the Great Cabin; Quarter-Bills over the Guns; the Rewards and Close-quarters, &c. at the Mizen-mast, Shot-lockers and Shot in their proper Station; Pluggs for Shot-holes; and every thing that I could think of: and gave particular Orders to my Gunner, Carpenter, and Boatswain, to have every thing in their way, in Readiness, the two lower Yards flung with the Top-chains. Not being easy in my Mind about these Gun-room Stern-Ports, I sent Mr. *Rogers*, it being smooth Water, to open one of the Gun-room Stern-Ports, to see, if we could, on Occasion, get Guns out there, but he brought me Word it could not be done with Safety, the Ship being so deep. A few Days before I made the Land, the Winds used to vere and haul, that Offing in an Hour I could hardly up from E. N. E. to S. E. but the Winds chiefly kept to the Northward. I was very desirous to make the Land, not knowing how far the Southwest Currents might set me to the Westward. At noon, being *Dec.* 12. I made the Land of *Goa*, in the Latitude of 15 Degrees North. My Chief Mate wanted me to go into *Goa*, but I was resolved not, but to make the best of my Way for *Bombay*. The next Morning, having a fine Six-Knot-Gale, about Nine o' Clock Mr. *Rogers* told me, he saw *Gereah*, and desired me to haul further off Shore, and said, if *Angria* and his Grabbs should see us in his River, he would send them out after us. I asked him, if his Grabbs came out of Sight

of Land. He told me they were afraid to do that, fearing the *Bombay* Vessels should get between them and the Shore, and keep them out of their Ports. To prevent running into Danger, I kept out of Sight of Land: I thought it better to do so, since it would make but a few Days Difference in getting at *Bombay*; making no Doubt I should get there the last of the Month, as doubtless we should, if we had not met with our sad Misfortune.

When it was too late, I was acquainted by those taken in the *Severn*, that Mr. *Rogers* inform'd me wrong; for *Angria* sometimes keeps the Shore aboard, and sometimes goes directly out to Sea 60 Leagues off. It was too late to reflect; neither could I blame myself, knowing I had done every thing to the best of my Judgment: But had I been better inform'd, it is my Opinion we might have escaped those cursed Dogs, by keeping in Shore, and taken the Advantage of the Land and Sea Winds.

I have since repented that we did not go into *Goa*; but God knows whether a Man goes too fast or too slow; for I had certainly a very suitable Cargo for that Place; But my earnest Desire was to get to *Bombay*, the Season of the Year being far advanc'd.

December 26. being my second Mate's Morning Watch, about Five o'Clock he came to me, and told me he saw Nine Sail of Gallivats. I got up, and found them to be Five Top-mast Vessels, and Four

Gallivats, not above two Miles from us. I order'd all Hands to be call'd, and down with the Cabins in the Steerage, which was done in an Instant, and every body to their respective Quarters. They came up with us apace, having but light Airs of Winds, and found them to be *Angria's* Fleet. I had the Transome in the great Cabin, and the Balcony in the Round-house cut away, for traversing the Stern-Chase Guns. They came up with me very boldly within Pistol-shot. Before Six, they began firing upon us, throwing their Shot in at our Stern, raking us afore and aft. I order'd everything to be got ready for going about, to give them my Broad-side, when my Chief-Mate Mr. *Rogers*, and my Third Mate Mr. *Burroughs* came to me, and begg'd that I would not put about, for if I did, they would certainly board us. As to my Part, being a Stranger to this Coast and *Angria*, knowing my Chief Mate had been often this Way, and my Third Mate had sail'd in the Gallies, I was over prevail'd upon not to tack about. As the Enemy kept under my Stern, playing their Shot in very hot upon us, and destroying my Rigging so fast, I soon after endeavour'd to wear the Ship upon the Enemy; but the Wind dying away to a Calm, she would not regard her Helm, but lay like a Log in the Water. By Eight o'Clock most of my Rigging was destroy'd, and the Long-boat taking Fire a-stern, was forc'd to cut her away. The Yaul being stove by their shot, we launch'd her overboard. By Nine, the Top-chain that flung the

Main-yard, was shot away, with Geer and Geer-Blocks. The Main-yard came next down, with the Sails almost torn to Pieces with the Shot. As fast as our People knotted and spliced the Rigging, it was shot away in their Hands. The Water-Tubs in the Tops were shot to pieces, and the Boat-swain's Mate's Leg shot off in the Main-top. One of the Foremast-Mens Leg was shot off in the Fore-top, and one wounded. By Ten, the Mizen-mast was shot by the Board. Wanting People to cut the Mast-Rigging, &c. from her Side, found them appear very thin upon Deck, and desired my younger Mates to drive them out of their Holes. Word was then brought me, that my Chief Mate's Leg was shot off, but that he was in good Heart. All this time it was a Calm, and our Guns of the Broad-side of no Service, not being able, during the Engagement, to bring one Gun to bear upon them. They kept throwing their shot so thick in at our Stern, with a continual Fire, and we return'd it as fast as we could load and fire. About One, my Main-mast was shot by the Board, and the Fall of that stove the Pinnacle on the Booms. The Loss of my Main-mast gave me a very great Concern, and seeing the Condition of the Fore-mast, the Fore-yard half way down, and the Top-sail Yard-arm sprung in several Places, the Head of the Top-gallant-Mast shot away, render'd that Mast quite useless. I could not see which way it was in the Power of Men to save us from these Dogs. However, I made

myself as easy as could be expected, and kept my Thoughts to myself. Tho' the Shot were like Hail about my Ears, I thank God I escaped them, neither did they give me much Uneasiness as to my Person. The Grabbs perceiving their great Advantage by the Fall of our Main-mast, &c. tho' all the time before within Musket-Shot, come up boldly within Call, throwing in at our Stern Double-round and Patridge as fast as they could load and fire; we doing the same with Bolts, &c. We saw a great many Holes in their Sails. Soon after this, they lodg'd two Double-head-Shot, and a large Stone in the Fore-mast, the Shrowds of which were mostly gone. I often sent Capt. *Scarlet* to Mr. *Cudden*, to encourage the People, and to take care to cool his Guns, and not fire in Haste, but take good Aim. We received two Double-headed-Shot in the Bread-room, which were soon plugg'd up, and one Shot under the Larboard Chesstree, but so low in the Water, that could not get at it, and the Ship prov'd leaky. I had a Pack of sad cowardly, ignorant Dogs as ever came into a Ship. As to my common Sailors, who were not above Twelve Seamen, with the Officers, they stood by me. It was all owing to my Misfortune on the *Mouse*, that I was so poorly Mann'd. As to my Third Mate, *B——s*, he did not seem to stomach what he was about; he was sometimes on the Quarter-Deck (not being able to use any Guns but the Stern-Chase) and every Shot the Enemy fir'd, he cowardly trembled, with his Head almost down to

the Deck. This Captain *Scarlet* has often declared to the Gentlemen at *Bombay*, and before those that are now coming Home. I had six Men kill'd, and six their Legs shot off, with several others wounded by their Partridge-Shot, &c. Had our People kept the Deck like Men, there must have been several more kill'd and wounded. About Three, I heard a great Call for Shot, and desired Capt. *Scarlet* to go to Mr. *Cuddon*, and tell him not to fire in Waste.

We lay now just like a Wreck in the Sea, and at our Wits Ends. Our Shot being almost spent, we had a Hole cut in the Well to try to come at the Company's. We continued on with Double-round and Partridge, and Bolts, &c. with a Double Allowance of Powder to each Gun, doing the utmost we could to save the Ship. The Tiller-rope was now shot away, tho' of no Service before. The Carpenter told me the Ship made a great deal of Water, and had above two Foot in her Hold. The Caulker afterwards told me she had three Foot. I saw nothing we could do more than firing our Stern-Chase. There was a sad Complaint for Shot; however we fir'd Bolts. I call'd out to the People to have good Hearts, and went into the Round-house to encourage them there. It was very hard we could stand no Chance for a Mast of theirs, nor no lucky Shot to disable some of them, in all the Number that we fir'd. As to our small Arms, they were of little Service, they keeping their Men so close. The Rigging of the Foremast being gone, and that fetching

so much way, I expected it to go every Minute; and about Seven in the Evening, the Ship falling off into the Trough of the Sea, the Foremast came by the Board. It was now about Four o' Clock, when Mr. *Thomas Rogers*, my Chief Mate, sent my Steward to desire to speak with me. When I went to him, he spoke to me to this Purpose. "Sir, says he, I "am inform'd what Condition the Ship is in; as "her Masts are gone, you had better not be obstinate, in standing out longer; it will only be the "Means of making more Objects, of murdering "more Men, and all to no Purpose, but to be used "worse by the Enemy, for it is impossible to get "away. Therefore you had better surrender." To the best of my Knowledge, I hardly made him any Answer; nor had I, before he sent to me, the least Thoughts of surrendering, which I declare before God and Man; tho' I was well convinc'd within myself, that it was impossible to save the Ship. I went up to my old Station the Quarter-Deck, and took several Turns, as usual, and proceeded in the Engagement. I begun to consider what Mr. *Rogers* told me, and the Condition of the Ship, and argue within myself the Impossibility of doing any more (for if a Gale had sprung up, it could be of no Service) and all the time from the Fall of our Main-mast, the Enemy were got so near, that I could hear them talk, and my Second Mate did the same. As to our Masts, they had gain'd their Ends, and their only Business now was to fire at the Hull.

There was no Hopes of their leaving us, considering the condition they had brought us to, and it could not be long before we sunk: for as they lay so near us, and so low in Water, our Shot must doubtless fly over them. At last I was of Mr. *Rogers's* Opinion, that it was only sacrificing the Men to no Purpose; for they had so large a Mark of us, they could not miss us; and during all the Engagement, as they play'd their Shot so hot at our Stern, it is surprizing there were not many more Men Kill'd. I then sent for my Second and Third Mate, and told them Mr. *Rogers's* Opinion and my own. They both agreed to it, and consented to the surrendering of the Ship. So we submitted to the Enemy, finding it in vain to proceed. By my Watch it was Five o' Clock. My Second and Third Mate went in to the Steerage to forbid firing, and myself in the Round-House, did the same. Every Body seem'd to be very well satisfied as to the surrendering Part, and no Objection was made. Colours we had none to strike; those and the Ensign-Staff were shot to Pieces; and what was left of the Ensign being made fast to the Main-Shrowds, went with the Mast. Capt. *Scarlet* went into the Round-House, and call'd the Enemy on board, and told them we had no Boats. They sent their Dingey aboard with Four Men for me and my chief Officers. They left Two of the Four aboard the *Derby*. Myself and my Second Mate went in the Dingey aboard the Grabb. We were gone an Hour and a half good, if not more; then we return'd

in a Gallivat with 50 or 60 Men, but not a Soul went aboard the *Derby*, till we return'd. Then came aboard more Gallivats and more Men, and secured the Arms, &c. and drove our People up, some to the Pumps, and some to clear the Rigging off the Ship's Side. They transkipt to their Grabbs what Treasure could be got at, and the next Day turn'd out the Remainder, with myself, *Scarlet*, *Cuddon*, the two Ladies, and my Servants, into one of the Grabbs.

FRANCIS LOLONOIS

THE SLAVE WHO BECAME A PIRATE KING *

JOHN ESQUEMELING

FRANCIS LOLONOIS was a native of that territory in France which is called Les Sables d'Olone, or The Sands of Olone. In his youth he was transported to the Caribbee islands, in quality of servant, or slave, according to custom. Having served his time, he came to Hispaniola; here he joined for some time with the hunters, before he began his robberies upon the Spaniards.

At first he made two or three voyages as a common mariner, wherein he behaved himself so courageously as to gain the favor of the governor of Tortuga, Monsieur de la Place; insomuch that he gave him a ship, in which he might seek his fortune, which was very favorable to him at first; for in a short time he got great riches. But his cruelties against the Spaniards were such, that the fame of them made him so well known through the Indies, that the Spaniards, in his time, would choose rather to die, or sink fighting, than surrender, knowing they should have no mercy at his hands. But Fortune,

* *The Buccaneers of America.*

being seldom constant, after some time turned her back; for in a huge storm he lost his ship on the coast of Campechy. The men were all saved, but coming upon dry land, the Spaniards pursued them, and killed the greatest part, wounding also Lolonois. Not knowing how to escape, he saved his life by a stratagem; mingling sand with the blood of his wounds, with which besmearing his face, and other parts of his body, and hiding himself dextrously among the dead, he continued there till the Spaniards quitted the field.

They being gone, he retired to the woods and bound up his wounds as well as he could. These being pretty well healed, he took his way to Campechy, having disguised himself in a Spanish habit; here he enticed certain slaves, to whom he promised liberty if they would obey him and trust to his conduct. They accepted his promises, and stealing a canoe, they went to sea with him. Now the Spaniards, having made several of his companions prisoners, kept them close in a dungeon, while Lolonois went about the town and saw what passed. These were often asked, "What is become of your captain?" To whom they constantly answered, "He is dead:" which rejoiced the Spaniards, who made thanks to God for their deliverance from such a cruel pirate. Lolonois, having seen these rejoicings for his death, made haste to escape, with the slaves above-mentioned, and came safe to Tortuga, the common refuge of all sorts of wickedness, and the

seminary, as it were, of pirates and thieves. Though now his fortune was low, yet he got another ship with craft and subtlety, and in it twenty-one men. Being well provided with arms and necessaries, he set forth for Cuba, on the south whereof is a small village, called De los Cayos. The inhabitants drive a great trade in tobacco, sugar, and hides, and all in boats, not being able to use ships, by reason of the little depth of that sea.

Lolonois was persuaded he should get here some considerable prey; but by the good fortune of some fishermen who saw him, and the mercy of God, they escaped him: for the inhabitants of the town dispatched immediately a vessel overland to the Havannah, complaining that Lolonois was come to destroy them with two canoes. The governor could hardly believe this, having received letters from Campechy that he was dead: but, at their importunity, he sent a ship for their relief, with ten guns and ninety men, well armed; giving them this express command, "that they should not return into his presence without having totally destroyed those pirates." To this effect he gave them a negro to serve for a hangman, and orders, "that they should immediately hang every one of the pirates, excepting Lolonois, their captain, whom they should bring alive to the Havannah." This ship arrived at Cayos, of whose coming the pirates were advertised beforehand, and instead of flying, went to seek it in the river Estera, where she rode at anchor. The

pirates seized some fishermen, and forced them by night to show them the entry of the port, hoping soon to obtain a greater vessel than their two canoes, and thereby to mend their fortune. They arrived, after two in the morning, very nigh the ship; and the watch on board the ship asking them, whence they came, and if they had seen any pirates abroad. They caused one of the prisoners to answer, they had seen no pirates, nor anything else. Which answer made them believe that they were fled upon hearing of their coming.

But they soon found the contrary, for about break of day the pirates assaulted the vessel on both sides, with their two canoes, with such vigor, that though the Spaniards behaved themselves as they ought, and made as good defense as they could, making some use of their great guns, yet they were forced to surrender, being beaten by the pirates, with sword in hand, down under the hatches. From hence Lolonois commanded them to be brought up, one by one, and in this order caused their heads to be struck off. Among the rest came up the negro, designed to be the pirates' executioner; this fellow implored mercy at his hands very dolefully, telling Lolonois he was constituted hangman of that ship, and if he would spare him, he would tell him faithfully all that he should desire. Lolonois, making him confess what he thought fit, commanded him to be murdered with the rest. Thus he cruelly and barbarously put them all to death, reserving only one alive,

whom he sent back to the governor of the Havannah, with this message in writing: "I shall never henceforward give quarter to any Spaniard whatsoever; and I have great hopes I shall execute on your own person the very same punishment I have done upon them you sent against me. Thus I have retaliated the kindness you designed to me and my companions." The governor, much troubled at this bad news, swore, in the presence of many, that he would never grant quarter to any pirate that should fall into his hands. But the citizens of the Havannah desired him not to persist in the execution of that rash and rigorous oath, seeing the pirates would certainly take occasion from thence to do the same, and they had an hundred times more opportunity of revenge than he; that being necessitated to get their livelihood by fishery, they should hereafter always be in danger of their lives. By these reasons he was persuaded to bridle his anger, and remit the severity of his oath.

Now Lolonois had got a good ship, but very few provisions and people in it; to purchase both which he resolved to cruise from one port to another. Doing thus, for some time, without success, he determined to go to the port of Maracaibo. Here he surprised a ship laden with plate, and other merchandises, outward bound, to buy cocoa-nuts. With this prize he returned to Tortuga, where he was received with joy by the inhabitants; they congratulating his happy success, and their own private in-

terest. He stayed not long there, but designed to equip a fleet sufficient to transport five hundred men, and necessaries. Thus provided, he resolved to pillage both cities, towns, and villages, and finally, to take Maracaibo itself. For this purpose he knew the island of Tortuga would afford him many resolute and courageous men, fit for such enterprises: besides, he had in his service several prisoners well acquainted with the ways and places designed upon.

Of this design Lolonois giving notice to all the pirates, whether at home or abroad, he got together, in a little while, above four hundred men; beside which, there was then in Tortuga another pirate, named Michael de Basco, who, by his piracy, had got riches sufficient to live at ease, and go no more abroad; having, withal, the office of major of the island. But seeing the great preparations that Lolonois made for this expedition, he joined him, and offered him, that if he would make him his chief captain by land (seeing he knew the country very well, and all its avenues) he would share in his fortunes, and go with him. They agreed upon articles to the great joy of Lolonois, knowing that Basco had done great actions in Europe, and had the repute of a good soldier. Thus they all embarked in eight vessels, that of Lolonois being the greatest, having ten guns of indifferent carriage.

All things being ready, and the whole company on board, they set sail together about the end of April, being, in all, six hundred and sixty persons.

They steered for that part called Bayala, north of Hispaniola: here they took into their company some French hunters, who voluntarily offered themselves, and here they provided themselves with victuals and necessaries for their voyage.

From hence they sailed again the last of July, and steered directly to the eastern cape of the isle called Punta d'Espada. Hereabouts espying a ship from Puerto Rico, bound for New Spain, laden with cocoanuts, Lolonois commanded the rest of the fleet to wait for him near Savona, on the east of Cape Punta d'Espada, he alone intending to take the said vessel. The Spaniards, though they had been in sight full two hours, and knew them to be pirates, yet would not flee, but prepared to fight, being well armed, and provided. The combat lasted three hours, and then they surrendered. This ship had sixteen guns, and fifty fighting men aboard: they found in her 120,000 weight of cocoa, 40,000 pieces-of-eight, and the value of 10,000 more, in jewels. Lolonois sent the vessel presently to Tortuga to be unladed, with orders to return as soon as possible to Savona, where he would wait for them: meanwhile, the rest of the fleet being arrived at Savona, met another Spanish vessel coming from Coman, with military provisions to Hispaniola, and money to pay the garrisons there. This vessel they also took, without any resistance, though mounted with eight guns. In it were 7,000 weight of powder, a

great number of muskets, and like things, with 12,000 pieces of eight.

These successes encouraged the pirates, they seeming very lucky beginnings, especially finding their fleet pretty well recruited in a little time: for the first ship arriving at Tortuga, the governor ordered it to be instantly unladen, and soon after sent back, with fresh provisions, and other necessaries, to Lolonois. This ship he chose for himself, and gave that which he commanded to his comrade, Anthony du Puis. Being thus recruited with men in lieu of them he had lost in taking the prizes, and by sickness, he found himself in a good condition to set sail for Maracaibo, in the province of Neuva Venezuela, in the latitude of 12 deg. 10 min. north. This island is twenty leagues long, and twelve broad. To this port also belong the islands of Onega and Monges. The east side thereof is called Cape St. Roman, and the western side Cape of Caquibacoa: the gulf is called, by some, the Gulf of Venezuela, but the pirates usually call it the Bay of Maracaibo.

At the entrance of this gulf are two islands extending from east to west; that towards the east is called *Isla de las Vigilias*, or the Watch Isle; because in the middle is a high hill, on which stands a watch-house. The other is called *Isla de la Palomas*, or the Isle of Pigeons. Between these two islands runs a little sea, or rather lake of fresh water, sixty leagues long, and thirty broad; which disgorgeing itself into the ocean, dilates itself about the

said two islands. Between them is the best passage for ships, the channel being no broader than the flight of a great gun, of about eight pounds. On the Isle of Pigeons standeth a castle, to impede the entry of vessels, all being necessitated to come very nigh the castle, by reason of two banks of sand on the other side, with only fourteen feet water. Many other banks of sand there are in this lake; as that called El Tablazo, or the Great Table, no deeper than ten feet, forty leagues within the lake; others there are, that have no more than six, seven, or eight feet in depth: all are very dangerous, especially to mariners unacquainted with them. West hereof is the city of Maracaibo, very pleasant to the view, its houses being built along the shore, having delightful prospects all round: the city may contain three or four thousand persons, slaves included, all which make a town of reasonable bigness. There are judged to be about eight hundred persons able to bear arms, all Spaniards. Here are one parish church, well built and adorned, four monasteries, and one hospital. The city is governed by a deputy governor, substituted by the governor of the Caracas. The trade here exercised is mostly in hides and tobacco. The inhabitants possess great numbers of cattle, and many plantations, which extend thirty leagues in the country, especially towards the great town of Gibraltar, where are gathered great quantities of cocoa-nuts, and all other garden fruits, which serve for the regale and sustenance of the in-

habitants of Maracaibo, whose territories are much drier than those of Gibraltar. Hither those of Maracaibo send great quantities of flesh, they making returns in oranges, lemons, and other fruits; for the inhabitants of Gibraltar want flesh, their fields not being capable of feeding cows or sheep.

Before Maracaibo is a very spacious and secure port, wherein may be built all sorts of vessels, having great convenience of timber, which may be transported thither at little charge. Nigh the town lies also a small island called Borrica, where they feed great numbers of goats, which cattle the inhabitants use more for their skins than their flesh or milk; they slighting these two, unless while they are tender and young kids. In the fields are fed some sheep, but of a very small size. In some islands of the lake, and in other places hereabouts, are many savage Indians, called by the Spaniards bravoës, or wild: these could never be reduced by the Spaniards, being brutish, and untameable. They dwell mostly towards the west side of the lake, in little huts built on trees growing in the water; so to keep themselves from innumerable mosquitoes, or gnats, which infest and torment them night and day. To the east of the said lake are whole towns of fishermen, who likewise live in huts built on trees, as the former. Another reason of this dwelling, is the frequent inundations; for after great rains, the land is often overflown for two or three leagues, there being no less than twenty-five great rivers that feed this lake.

The town of Gibraltar is also frequently drowned by these, so that the inhabitants are constrained to retire to their plantations.

Gibraltar, situate at the side of the lake about forty leagues within it, receives its provisions of flesh, as has been said, from Maracaibo. The town is inhabited by about 1,500 persons, whereof four hundred may bear arms; the greatest part of them keep shops, wherein they exercise one trade or another. In the adjacent fields are numerous plantations of sugar and cocoa, in which are many tall and beautiful trees, of whose timber houses may be built, and ships. Among these are many handsome and proportionable cedars, seven or eight feet about, of which they can build boats and ships, so as to bear only one great sail; such vessels being called *piraguas*. The whole country is well furnished with rivers and brooks, very useful in droughts, being then cut into many little channels to water their fields and plantations. They plant also much tobacco, well esteemed in Europe, and for its goodness is called there *tobacco de sacerdotes*, or priest's tobacco. They enjoy nigh twenty leagues of jurisdiction, which is bounded by very high mountains perpetually covered with snow. On the other side of these mountains is situate a great city called Merida, to which the town of Gibraltar is subject. All merchandise is carried hence to the aforesaid city on mules, and that but at one season of the year, by reason of the excessive cold in those high moun-

tains. On the said mules returns are made in flour of meal, which comes from towards Peru, by the way of Estaffe.

Lolonois arriving at the gulf of Venezuela, cast anchor with his whole fleet out of sight of the Vigilia or Watch Isle; next day very early he set sail thence with all his ships for the lake of Maracaibo, where they cast anchor again; then they landed their men, with design to attack first the fortress that commanded the bar, therefore called *de la barra*. This fort consisted only of several great baskets of earth placed on a rising ground, planted with sixteen great guns, with several other heaps of earth round about for covering their men: the pirates having landed a league off this fort, advanced by degrees towards it; but the governor having espied their landing, had placed an ambuscade to cut them off behind, while he should attack them in front. This the pirates discovered, and getting before, they defeated it so entirely, that not a man could retreat to the castle: this done, Lolonois, with his companions, advanced immediately to the fort, and after a fight of almost three hours, with the usual desperation of this sort of people, they became masters thereof, without any other arms than swords and pistols: while they were fighting, those who were the routed ambuscade, not being able to get into the castle, retired into Maracaibo in great confusion and disorder, crying "The pirates will presently be here with two thousand men and more." The city having for-

merly been taken by this kind of people, and sacked to the uttermost, had still an idea of that misery; so that upon these dismal news they endeavored to escape towards Gibraltar in their boats and canoes, carrying with them all the goods and money they could. Being come to Gibraltar, they told how the fortress was taken, and nothing had been saved, nor any persons escaped.

The castle thus taken by the pirates, they presently signified to the ships their victory, that they should come farther in without fear of danger: the rest of that day was spent in ruining and demolishing the said castle. They nailed the guns, and burnt as much as they could not carry away, burying the dead, and sending on board the fleet the wounded. Next day, very early, they weighed anchor, and steered directly towards Maracaibo, about six leagues distant from the fort; but the wind failing that day, they could advance little, being forced to await the tide. Next morning they came in sight of the town, and prepared for landing under the protection of their own guns, fearing the Spaniards might have laid an ambuscade in the woods. They put their men into canoes, brought for that purpose, and landed, shooting meanwhile furiously with their great guns. Of those in the canoes, half only went ashore, the other half remained aboard. They fired from the ships as fast as possible, towards the woody part of the shore, but could discover nobody;

then they entered the town, whose inhabitants were retired to the woods, and Gibraltar, with their wives children and families. Their houses they left well provided with victuals, as flour, bread, pork, brandy, wines, and poultry, and with these the pirates fell to making good cheer, for in four weeks before they had no opportunity of filling their stomachs with such plenty.

They instantly possessed themselves of the best houses in the town, and placed sentinels wherever they thought necessary;—the great church served them for their main guard. Next day they sent out an hundred and sixty men to find out some of the inhabitants in the woods thereabouts. These returned the same night, bringing with them 20,000 pieces-of-eight, several mules laden with household goods and merchandise, and twenty prisoners, men, women, and children. Some of these were put to the rack, to make them confess where they had hid the rest of the goods; but they could extort very little from them. Lolonois, who valued not murdering, though in cold blood, ten or twelve Spaniards, drew his cutlass, and hacked one to pieces before the rest, saying, "If you do not confess and declare where you have hid the rest of your goods, I will do the like to all your companions." At last, amongst these horrible cruelties and inhuman threats, one promised to show the place where the rest of the Spaniards were hid. But those that were fled, having intelligence of it, changed place, and buried the remnant

of their riches underground, so that the pirates could not find them out, unless some of their own party should reveal them. Besides, the Spaniards flying from one place to another every day, and often changing woods, were jealous even of each other, so that the father durst scarce trust his own son.

After the pirates had been fifteen days in Mara-caibo, they resolved for Gibraltar; but the inhabitants having received intelligence thereof, and that they intended afterwards to go to Merida, gave notice of it to the governor there, who was a valiant soldier, and had been an officer in Flanders. His answer was, "he would have them take no care, for he hoped in a little while to exterminate the said pirates." Whereupon he came to Gibraltar with four hundred men well armed, ordering at the same time the inhabitants to put themselves in arms, so that in all he made eight hundred fighting men. With the same speed he raised a battery toward the sea, mounted with twenty guns, covered with great baskets of earth: another battery he placed in another place, mounted with eight guns. This done, he barricaded a narrow passage to the town through which the pirates must pass, opening at the same time another one through much dirt and mud into a wood which was totally unknown to the pirates.

The pirates, ignorant of these preparations, having embarked all their prisoners and booty, took their way towards Gibraltar. Being come in sight of the place, they saw the royal standard hanging

forth, and that those of the town designed to defend their homes. Lolonois seeing this, called a council of war what they ought to do, telling his officers and mariners, "That the difficulty of the enterprise was very great, seeing the Spaniards had had so much time to put themselves in a posture of defense, and had got a good body of men together, with much ammunition; but notwithstanding," said he, "have a good courage; we must either defend ourselves like good soldiers, or lose our lives with all the riches we have got. Do as I shall do who am your captain: at other times we have fought with fewer men than we have in our company at present, and yet we have overcome greater numbers than there possibly can be in this town: the more they are, the more glory and the greater riches we shall gain." The pirates supposed that all the riches of the inhabitants of Maracaibo were transported to Gibraltar, or at least the greatest part. After this speech, they all promised to follow, and obey him. Lolonois made answer, "'Tis well; but know ye, withal, that the first man who shall show any fear, or the least apprehension thereof, I will pistol him with my own hands."

With this resolution they cast anchor nigh the shore, near three-quarters of a league from the town: next day before sun-rising, they landed three hundred and eighty men well provided, and armed every one with a cutlass, and one or two pistols, and sufficient powder and bullet for thirty charges.

Here they all shook hands in testimony of good courage, and began their march, Lolonois speaking thus, "Come, my brethren, follow me, and have good courage." They followed their guide, who, believing he led them well, brought them to the way which the governor had barricaded. Not being able to pass that way, they went to the other newly made in the wood among the mire, which the Spaniards could shoot into at pleasure; but the pirates, full of courage, cut down the branches of trees and threw them on the way, that they might not stick in the dirt. Meanwhile, those of Gibraltar fired with their great guns so furiously, they could scarce hear nor see for the noise and smoke. Being passed the wood, they came on firm ground, where they met with a battery of six guns, which immediately the Spaniards discharged upon them, all loaded with small bullets and pieces of iron; and the Spaniards sallying forth, set upon them with such fury, as caused the pirates to give way, few of them caring to advance towards the fort, many of them being already killed and wounded. This made them go back to seek another way; but the Spaniards having cut down many trees to hinder the passage, they could find none, but were forced to return to that they had left. Here the Spaniards continued to fire as before, nor would they sally out of their batteries to attack them any more. Lolonois and his companions not being able to climb up the bastion of earth, were compelled to use an old stratagem,

wherewith at last they deceived and overcame the Spaniards.

Lolonois retired suddenly with all his men, making show as if he fled; hereupon the Spaniards crying out "They flee, they flee, let us follow them," sallied forth with great disorder to the pursuit. Being drawn to some distance from the batteries, which was the pirates only design, they turned upon them unexpectedly with sword in hand, and killed above two hundred men; and thus fighting their way through those who remained, they possessed themselves of the batteries. The Spaniards that remained abroad, giving themselves over for lost, fled to the woods: those in the battery of eight guns surrendered themselves, obtaining quarter for their lives. The pirates being now become masters of the town, pulled down the Spanish colors and set up their own, taking prisoners as many as they could find. These they carried to the great church, where they raised a battery of several great guns, fearing lest the Spaniards that were fled should rally, and come upon them again; but next day, being all fortified, their fears were over. They gathered the dead to bury them, being above five hundred Spaniards, besides the wounded in the town, and those that died of their wounds in the woods. The pirates had also above one hundred and fifty prisoners, and nigh five hundred slaves, many women and children.

Of their own companions only forty were killed, and almost eighty wounded, whereof the greatest

part died through the bad air, which brought fevers and other illness. They put the slain Spaniards into two great boats, and carrying them a quarter of a league to sea, they sunk the boats; this done, they gathered all the plate, household stuff, and merchandise they could, or thought convenient to carry away. The Spaniards who had anything left had hid it carefully; but the unsatisfied pirates, not contented with the riches they had got, sought for more goods and merchandise, not sparing those who lived in the fields, such as hunters and planters. They had scarce been eighteen days on the place, when the greatest part of the prisoners died for hunger. For in the town were few provisions, especially of flesh, though they had some, but no sufficient quantity of flour or meal, and this the pirates had taken for themselves, as they also took the swine, cows, sheep, and poultry, without allowing any share to the poor prisoners. For these they only provided some small quantity of mules' and asses' flesh; and many who could not eat of that loathsome provision died for hunger, their stomachs not being accustomed to such sustenance. Of the prisoners many also died under the torment they sustained to make them discover their money or jewels; and of these, some had none, nor knew of none, and others denying what they knew, endured such horrible deaths.

Finally, after having been in possession of the town four entire weeks, they sent four of the pris-

oners to the Spaniards that were fled to the woods, demanding of them a ransom for not burning the town. The sum demanded was 10,000 pieces of eight, which if not sent, they threatened to reduce it to ashes. For bringing in this money, they allowed them only two days; but the Spaniards not having been able to gather so punctually such a sum, the pirates fired many parts of the town; whereupon the inhabitants begged them to help quench the fire, and the ransom should be readily paid. The pirates condescended, helping as much as they could to stop the fire; but, notwithstanding all their best endeavors, one part of the town was ruined, especially the church belonging to the monastery was burned down. After they had received the said sum, they carried aboard all the riches they had got, with a great number of slaves which had not paid the ransom; for all the prisoners had sums of money set upon them, and the slaves were also commanded to be redeemed. Thence they returned to Maracaibo, where being arrived, they found a general consternation in the whole city, to which they sent three or four prisoners to tell the governor and inhabitants, "they should bring them 30,000 pieces-of-eight aboard their ships, for a ransom of their houses, otherwise they should be sacked anew and burned."

Among these debates a party of pirates came on shore, and carried away the images, pictures, and bells of the great church, aboard the fleet. The

Spaniards who were sent to demand the sum aforesaid returned, with orders to make some agreement; who concluded with the pirates to give for their ransom and liberty 20,000 pieces of eight, and five hundred cows, provided that they should commit no further hostilities, but depart thence presently after payment of money and cattle. The one and the other being delivered, the whole fleet set sail, causing great joy to the inhabitants of Maracaibo, to see themselves quit of them: but three days after they renewed their fears with admiration, seeing the pirates appear again, and re-enter the port with all their ships: but these apprehensions vanished, upon hearing one of the pirate's errand, who came ashore from Lolonois, "to demand a skilful pilot to conduct one of the greatest ships over the dangerous bank that lieth at the very entry of the lake." Which petition, or rather command, was instantly granted.

They had now been full two months in these towns, wherein they committed those cruel and insolent actions we have related. Departing thence, they took their course to Hispaniola, and arrived there in eight days, casting anchor in a port called Isla de la Vacca, or Cow Island. This island is inhabited by French buccaneers, who mostly sell the flesh they hunt to pirates and others, who now and then put in there to victual, or trade. Here they unladed their whole cargazon of riches, the usual storehouse of the pirates being commonly under the

shelter of the buccaneers. Here they made a dividend of all their prizes and gains, according to the orders and degree of every one, as has been mentioned before. Having made an exact calculation of all their plunder, they found in ready money 260,000 pieces-of-eight: this being divided, every one received for his share in money, as also in silk, linen, and other commodities, to the value of 100 pieces-of-eight. Those who had been wounded received their first part, after the rate mentioned before, for the loss of their limbs: then they weighed all the plate uncoined, reckoning ten pieces-of-eight to a pound; the jewels were prized indifferently, either too high or too low, by reason of their ignorance: this done, every one was put to his oath again, that he had not smuggled anything from the common stock. Hence they proceeded to the dividend of the shares of such as were dead in battle, or otherwise: these shares were given to their friends, to be kept entire for them, and to be delivered in due time to their nearest relations, or their apparent lawful heirs.

The whole dividend being finished, they set sail for Tortuga. Here they arrived a month after, to the great joy of most of the island; for as to the common pirates, in three weeks they had scarce any money left, having spent it all in things of little value, or lost it at play. Here had arrived, not long before them, two French ships, with wine and brandy, and suchlike commodities; whereby these

liquors, at the arrival of the pirates, were indifferent cheap. But this lasted not long, for soon after they were enhanced extremely, a gallon of brandy being sold for four pieces-of-eight. The governor of the island bought of the pirates the whole cargo of the ship laden with cocoa, giving for that rich commodity scarce the twentieth part of its worth. Thus they made shift to lose and spend the riches they had got, in much less time than they were obtained. The taverns and stews, according to the custom of pirates, got the greatest part; so that, soon after, they were forced to seek more by the same unlawful means they had got the former.

THE FIGHT BETWEEN THE *DORRILL* AND THE *MOCA* *

THESE truly representeth a scheem of what misfortune has befell us as we were going through the streights of Malacca, in the persuance to our pretended voyage, *vizt.*, Wednesday the 7th July, 5 o'clock morning we espied a ship to windward; as soon as was well light perceived her to bare down upon us. Wee thought at first she had been a Dutchman bound for Atcheen or Bengall, when perceived she had no Gallerys, did then suppose her to be what after, to our dreadful sorrow, found her. Wee gott our ship in the best posture of defence that suddain emergent necessity would permitt. Wee kept good looking out, expecting to see an Island called Pullo Verello [Pulo Barahla], but as then saw it not.

About 8 of the clock the ship came up fairely within shott. Saw in room of our Gallerys there was large sally ports, in each of which was a large gunn, seemed to be brass. Her tafferill was likewise taken downe. Wee having done what possibly could to prepare ourselves, fearing might be suddenly sett on, ordered our people to their respective stations for action. Wee now hoisted our colours.

* From *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 49.

The Captain commanded to naile our Ensigne to the staff in sight of the enimie, which was immediately done. As they perceived wee hoisted our colours they hoisted theirs, with the Union Jack, and let fly a broad red Pendant at their maintopmast head.

The Pirate being now in little more than half Pistoll shott from us, wee could discerne abundance of men who went aft to the Quarter Deck, which as wee suppose was to consult. They stood as we stood, but wee spoke neither to other. Att noone it fell calme, so that [wee] were affraid should by the sea have been hove on one another. Att 1 a clock sprang up a gale. The Pirate kept as wee kept. Att 3 a clock the villain backt her sailes and they went from us. Wee kept close halled, having a contrary wind for Mallacca. When the Pirate was about 7 miles distant tackt and stood after us. Att 6 that evening saw the lookt for island, and the Pirate came up with us on our starboard side within shott. Wee see he kept a man at each topmast head, looking out till it was darke, then he halled a little from us, but kept us company all night.

At 8 in the morning he drew near us, but wee had time to mount our other four guns that were in hold, and now wee were in the best posture of defence could desire. He drawing near us and seeing that if [wee] would, [wee] could not gett from him, he far outsailing us by or large [in one direction or another], the Captain resolved to see what

the rogue would doe, soe ordered to hand [furl] all our small sailes and furled our mainesaille. He, seeing this, did the like, and as [he] drew near us beat a drum and sounded trumpets, and then hailed us four times before we answered him.

At last it was thought fitt to know what he would say, soe the Boatswaine spoke to him as was ordered, which was that wee came from London. Then he enquired whether peace or war with France. Our answer, there was an universall peace through Europe, att which they paused and then said, "That's well." He further enquired if had touched at Attcheen. Wee said a boat came off to us, but [wee] came not near itt by several leagues. Further he enquired our Captain's name and whither wee were bound. Wee answered to Mallacca. They too and [would have] had the Captain gone aboard to drink a glass of wine. Wee said that would see one another at Mallacca. Then he called to lye by and he would come aboard us. Our answer was as before, saying it was late. He said, true, it was for China, and enquired whether should touch at the Water Islands [Pulo Ondan, off Malacca]. Wee said should. Then said he, So shall wee. After he had asked us all these questions wee desired to know from whence he was. He said from London, their Captain name Collyford, the ship named the *Resolution*, bound for China. This Collyford had been Gunners Mate at Bombay, and after run away with the Ketch.

Thus past the 8th July. Friday the 9th do., he being some distance from us, About $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after 10 came up with us. Then it grew calme. Wee could discern a fellow on the Quarter Deck wearing a sword. As he drew near, this Hellish Imp cried, Strike you doggs, which [wee] perceived was not by a general consent for he was called away. Our Boatswaine in a fury run upon the poop, unknown to the Captain, and answered that wee would strike to noe such doggs as he, telling him the rogue Every and his accomplices were all hanged. The Captain was angry that he spake without order, then ordered to haile him and askt what was his reason to dogg us. One stept forward on the fore-castle, beckoned with his hand and said, Gentlemen, wee want not your ship nor men, but money. Wee told them had none for them but bid them come up alongside and take it as could gett it. Then a parcell of bloodhound rogues clasht their cutlashes and said they would have itt or our hearts blood, saying, "What doe you not know us to be the *Moca*?" Our answer was Yes, Yes. Thereon they gave a great shout and so they all went out of sight and wee to our quarters. They were going to hoist colours but the ensigne halliards broke, which our people perceiving gave a great shout, so they lett them alone.

As soon as they could bring their chase gunns to bear, fired upon us and soe kept on our quarter. Our gunns would not bear in a small space, but as

soon as did hap, gave them better than [the pirates] did like. His second shott carried away our spritt saile yard. About half on hour after or more he came up alongside and soe wee powered in upon him and continued, some time broadsides and sometimes three or four gunns as opportunity presented and could bring them to doe best service. He was going to lay us athwart the hawse, but by God's providence Captain Hide frustrated his intent by pouring a broadside into him, which made him give back and goe asterne, where he lay and paused without fireing, then in a small space fired one gunn. The shott come in at our round house window without damage to any person, after which he filled and bore away, and when was about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile off fired a gunn to leeward, which wee answered by another to windward. About an hour after he tackt and came up with us againe. Wee made noe saile, but lay by to receive him, but he kept aloof off. The distance att most in all our fireing was never more than two ships length; the time of our engagement was from $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour after 11 till about 3 afternoon.

When [wee] came to see what damage [wee] had sustained, found our Cheife Mate, Mr. Smith, wounded in the legg, close by the knee, with a splinter or piece of chaine, which cannot well be told, our Barber had two of his fingers shott off as was spunging one of our gunns, the Gunner's boy had his legg shott off in the waste, John Amos, Quarter-

master, had his leg shott off [while] at the helme, the Boatswaine's boy (a lad of 13 years old) was shott in the thigh, which went through and splintered his bone, the Armorer Jos. Osborne in the round house wounded by a splinter just in the temple, the Captain's boy on the Quarter Deck a small shott raised his scull through his cap and was the first person wounded and att the first onsett. Wm. Reynolds's boy had the brim of his hatt $\frac{1}{2}$ shott off and his forefinger splintered very sorely. John Blake, turner, the flesh of his legg and calfe a great part shott away.

Our ships damage is the Mizentopmast shott close by the cap and it was a miracle stood soe long and did not fall in the rogues sight. Our rigging shott that had but one running rope left clear, our mainshrouds three on one side, two on the other cutt in two. Our mainyard ten feet from the mast by a shott cutt 8 inches deep, our foretopmast backstays shott away, a great shott in the roundhouse, one on the Quarter Deck and two of the roundhouse shott came on the said deck, severall in the stearidge betwixt decks and in the forecastle, two in the bread room which caused us to make much water and damaged the greatest part of our bread. They dismounted one of our gunns in the roundhouse, two in the stearidge, two in the waste, one in the forecastle, with abundance more damage which may seem tedious to rehearse.

Their small shott were most Tinn and Tuthenage

[*tutenaga*, spelter]. They fired pieces of glass-bottles, do. teapots, chains, stones and what not, which were found on our decks. We could observe abundance of great shott to have passed through the rogues foresaile, and our hope is have done that to him which [will] make him shunn having to do with any Europe ship againe. Att night wee perceived kept close their lights. Wee did the like and lay by. In the morning they were as far off as [wee] could discerne upon deck. Wee sent up to see how they stood, which was right with us. In the night wee knotted our rigging and in the morning made all haist to repara our carriages.

Our men, seeing they stood after us, [wee] could perceive their countinances to be dejected. Wee cheared them what wee could, and, for their encouragement, the Captain and wee of our proper money did give them, to every man and boy, three dollars each, which animated them, and promised to give them as much more if engaged againe, and that if [wee] took the ship, for every prisoner five pounds and besides a gratuity from the Gentlemen Employers. Wee read the King's Proclamation about Every, &c., and the Right Honble. Company's.

About 9 o'clock the 10th July wee perceived the rogue made from us, soe wee gave the Almighty our most condigne thanks for his mercy that delivered us not to the worst of our enimies, for truly he [the pirate] was very strong, having at least an hundred Europeans on board, 34 gunns mounted,

besides 10 pattererers and 2 small mortars in the head; his lower tier, some of them, as wee judged, sixteen and eighteen pounders. We lay as near our course as could, and next day saw land on our star-board side which was the Maine [Land]. Kept on our way.

The 12th July dyed the Boatswaine's boy, George Mopp, in the morning. Friday the 16th do. in the evening dyed the Gunner's boy, Thomas Matthews. Sunday the 18th at anchor two leagues from the Pillo Sumbelong [Pulo Sembilan] Islands dyed the Barber, Andrew Miller. Do. the 31st dyed the Cheife Mate, Mr. John Smith. The other two are yet in a very deplorable condition and wee are ashore here to refresh them. . . . The Chinese further report . . . the *Mocco* was at the Maldives and creaned [careened]; there they gave an end to the life of their commanding rogue Stout, who they murdered for attempting to run away.

JADDI THE MALAY PIRATE *

LONG before that action with the English man-of-war which drove me to Singapore, I sailed in a fine fleet of prahus belonging to the Rajah of Johore [Sultân Mahmâd Shâh]. We were all then very rich—ah! such numbers of beautiful wives and such feasting!—but, above all, we had a great many most holy men in our force! When the proper monsoon came, we proceeded to sea to fight the Bugismen [of Celebes] and Chinamen bound from Borneo and the Celebes to Java; for you must remember our Rajah was at war with them. (Jadee always maintained that the proceedings in which he had been engaged partook of a purely warlike, and not of a piratical character.)

Our thirteen prahus had all been fitted out in and about Singapore. I wish you could have seen them, Touhan [*Tüan*, Sir]. These prahus we see here are nothing to them, such brass guns, such long pendants, such creeses [Malay *kris*, dagger]! Allah-il-Allah! Our Datoos [*datuk*, a chief] were indeed great men!

Sailing along the coast as high as Patani, we then crossed over to Borneo, two Illanoon prahus acting

* From *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 49.

as pilots, and reached a place called Sambas [West Borneo]: there we fought the Chinese and Dutchmen, who ill-treat our countrymen, and are trying to drive the Malays out of that country. Gold-dust and slaves in large quantities were here taken, most of the latter being our countrymen of Sumatra and Java, who are captured and sold to the planters and miners of the Dutch settlements.

"Do you mean to say," I asked, "that the Dutch countenance such traffic?"

"The Hollanders," replied Jadee, "have been the bane of the Malay race; no one knows the amount of villainy, the bloody cruelty of their system towards us. They drive us into our prahus to escape their taxes and laws, and then declare us pirates and put us to death. There are natives in our crew, Touhan, of Sumatra and Java, of Bianca [Banka] and Borneo; ask them why they hate the Dutchmen; why they would kill a Dutchman. It is because the Dutchman is a false man, not like the white man [English]. The Hollander stabs in the dark; he is a liar!"

However, from Borneo we sailed to Biliton [island between Banka and Borneo] and Bianca, and there waited for some large junks that were expected. Our cruise had been so far successful, and we feasted away—fighting cocks, smoking opium and eating white rice. At last our scouts told us that a junk was in sight. She came, a lofty-sided one of Fokien [Fuhkien]. We knew these

Amoy men would fight like tiger-cats for their sugar and silks; and as the breeze was fresh, we only kept her in sight by keeping close inshore and following her. Not to frighten the Chinamen, we did not hoist sail but made our slaves pull. "Oh!" said Jadee, warming up with the recollection of the event—"oh! it was fine to feel what brave fellows we then were!"

Towards night we made sail and closed upon the junk, and at daylight it fell a stark calm, and we went at our prize like sharks. All our fighting men put on their war-dresses; the Illanoons danced their war-dance, and all our gongs sounded as we opened out to attack her on different sides.

But those Amoy men are pigs! They burnt joss-paper; sounded their gongs, and received us with such showers of stones, hot-water, long pikes, and one or two well-directed shots that we hauled off to try the effect of our guns, sorry though we were to do it, for it was sure to bring the Dutchmen upon us. Bang! bang! we fired at them, and they at us; three hours did we persevere, and whenever we tried to board, the Chinese beat us back every time, for her side was as smooth and as high as a wall, with galleries overhanging.

We had several men killed and hurt; a council was called; a certain charm was performed by one of our holy men, a famous chief, and twenty of our best men devoted themselves to effecting a landing on the junk's deck, when our look-out prahus made

the signal that the Dutchmen were coming; and sure enough some Dutch gun-boats came sweeping round a headland. In a moment we were round and pulling like demons for the shores of Biliton, the gun-boats in chase of us, and the Chinese howling with delight. The sea-breeze freshened and brought up a schooner-rigged boat very fast. We had been at work twenty-four hours and were heartily tired; our slaves could work no longer, so we prepared for the Hollanders; they were afraid to close upon us and commenced firing at a distance. This was just what we wanted; we had guns as well as they, and by keeping up the fight until dark, we felt sure of escape. The Dutchmen, however, knew this too, and kept closing gradually upon us; and when they saw our prahus bailing out water and blood, they knew we were suffering and cheered like devils. We were desperate; surrender to Dutchmen we never would; we closed together for mutual support, and determined at last, if all hope of escape ceased, to run our prahus ashore, burn them, and lie hid in the jungle until a future day. But a brave Datoo with his shattered prahu saved us; he proposed to let the Dutchmen board her, creese [stab with a *kris*] all that did so, and then trust to Allah for his escape.

It was done immediately; we all pulled a short distance away and left the brave Datoo's prahu like a wreck abandoned. How the Dutchmen yelled and fired into her! The slaves and cowards jumped out

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of the prahu, but our braves kept quiet; at last, as we expected, one gun-boat dashed alongside of their prize and boarded her in a crowd. Then was the time to see how the Malay man could fight; the creese was worth twenty swords, and the Dutchmen went down like sheep. We fired to cover our countrymen, who, as soon as their work was done, jumped overboard and swam to us; but the brave Dattoo, with many more died as brave Malays should do, running a-muck against a host of enemies.

The gun-boats were quite scared by this punishment, and we lost no time in getting away as rapidly as possible; but the accursed schooner, by keeping more in the offing, held the wind and preserved her position, signaling all the while for the gun-boats to follow her. We did not want to fight any more; it was evidently an unlucky day. On the opposite side of the channel to that we were on, the coral reefs and shoals would prevent the Hollanders following us: it was determined at all risks to get there in spite of the schooner. With the first of the land-wind in the evening we set sail before it and steered across for Bianca. The schooner placed herself in our way like a clever sailor, so as to turn us back; but we were determined to push on, take her fire, and run all risks.

It was a sight to see us meeting one another; but we were desperate: we had killed plenty of Dutchmen; it was their turn now. I was in the second prahu, and well it was so, for when the headmost

one got close to the schooner, the Dutchman fired all his guns into her, and knocked her at once into a wrecked condition. We gave one cheer, fired our guns and then pushed on for our lives. "Ah! sir, it was a dark night indeed for us. Three prahus in all were sunk and the whole force dispersed."

To add to our misfortunes a strong gale sprang up. We were obliged to carry canvas; our prahu leaked from shot-holes; the sea continually broke into her; we dared not run into the coral reefs on such a night, and bore up for the Straits of Malacca. The wounded writhed and shrieked in their agony, and we had to pump, we fighting men, and bale like *black fellows* [Caffrè or negro slaves]! By two in the morning we were all worn out. I felt indifferent whether I was drowned or not, and many threw down their buckets and sat down to die. The wind increased and, at last, as if to put us out of our misery, just such a squall as this came down upon us. I saw it was folly contending against our fate, and followed the general example. "God is great!" we exclaimed, but the Rajah of Johore came and reproved us. "Work until daylight," he said, "and I will ensure your safety." We pointed at the black storm which was approaching. "Is that what you fear?" he replied, and going below he produced just such a wooden spoon and did what you have seen me do, and I tell you, my captain, as I would if the "Company Sahib" stood before me, that the storm

was nothing, and that we had a dead calm one hour afterwards and were saved. God is great and Mahomet is his prophet!—but there is no charm like the Johore one for killing the wind!

THE TERRIBLE LADRONES *

RICHARD GLASSPOOLE

ON the 17th of September, 1809, the Honorable Company's ship *Marquis of Ely* anchored under the Island of *Sam Chow*, in China, about twelve English miles from Macao, where I was ordered to proceed in one of our cutters to procure a pilot, and also to land the purser with the packet. I left the ship at 5 P.M. with seven men under my command, well armed. It blew a fresh gale from the N. E. We arrived at Macao at 9 P.M., where I delivered the packet to Mr. Roberts, and sent the men with the boat's sails to sleep under the Company's Factory, and left the boat in charge of one of the Compradore's men; during the night the gale increased. At half-past three in the morning I went to the beach, and found the boat on shore half-filled with water, in consequence of the man having left her. I called the people, and baled her out; found she was considerably damaged, and very leaky. At half-past 5 A.M., the ebb-tide making, we left Macao with vegetables for the ship.

One of the Compradore's men who spoke English went with us for the purpose of piloting the ship

* From *The Ladronne Pirates*.

to Lintin, as the Mandarines, in consequence of a late disturbance at Macao, would not grant permission for regular pilots. I had every reason to expect the ship in the roads, as she was preparing to get under weigh when we left her; but on our rounding Cabaretta-Point, we saw her five or six miles to leeward, under weigh, standing on the starboard tack: it was then blowing fresh at N. E. Bore up, and stood towards her; when about a cable's length to windward of her, she tacked; we hauled our wind and stood after her. A hard squall then coming on, with a strong tide and heavy swell against us, we drifted fast to leeward, and the weather being hazy, we soon lost sight of the ship. Struck our masts, and endeavored to pull; finding our efforts useless, set a reefed foresail and mizzen, and stood towards a country-ship at anchor under the land to leeward of Cabaretta-Point. When within a quarter of a mile of her she weighed and made sail, leaving us in a very critical situation, having no anchor, and drifting bodily on the rocks to leeward. Struck the masts: after four or five hours hard pulling, succeeded in clearing them.

At this time not a ship in sight; the weather clearing up, we saw a ship to leeward, hull down, shipped our masts, and made sail towards her; she proved to be the Honourable Company's ship *Glatton*. We made signals to her with our handkerchiefs at the mast-head, she unfortunately took no notice of them, but tacked and stood from us. Our situation was

now truly distressing, night closing fast, with a threatening appearance, blowing fresh, with hard rain and a heavy sea; our boat very leaky, without a compass, anchor or provisions, and drifting fast on a lee-shore, surrounded with dangerous rocks, and inhabited by the most barbarous pirates. I close-reefed my sails, and kept tack and tack 'till daylight, when we were happy to find we had drifted very little to leeward of our situation in the evening. The night was very dark, with constant hard squalls and heavy rain.

Tuesday, the 19th, no ships in sight. About ten o'clock in the morning it fell calm, with very hard rain and a heavy swell;—struck our masts and pulled, not being able to see the land, steered by the swell. When the weather broke up, found we had drifted several miles to leeward. During the calm a fresh breeze springing up, made sail, and endeavored to reach the weather-shore, and anchor with six muskets we had lashed together for that purpose. Finding the boat made no way against the swell and tide, bore up for a bay to leeward, and anchored about one A.M. close under the land in five or six fathoms water, blowing fresh, with hard rain.

Wednesday, the 20th, at daylight, supposing the flood-tide making, weighed and stood over to the weather-land, but found we were drifting fast to leeward. About ten o'clock perceived two Chinese boats steering for us. Bore up, and stood towards

them, and made signals to induce them to come within hail; on nearing them, they bore up, and passed to leeward of the islands. The Chinese we had in the boat advised me to follow them, and he would take us to Macao by the leeward passage. I expressed my fears of being taken by the Ladrones. Our ammunition being wet, and the muskets rendered useless, we had nothing to defend ourselves with but cutlasses, and in too distressed a situation to make much resistance with them, having been constantly wet, and eaten nothing but a few green oranges for three days.

As our present situation was a hopeless one, and the man assured me there was no fear of encountering any Ladrones, I complied with his request, and stood in to leeward of the islands, where we found the water much smoother, and apparently a direct passage to Macao. We continued pulling and sailing all day. At six o'clock in the evening I discovered three large boats at anchor in a bay to leeward. On seeing us they weighed and made sail towards us. The Chinese said they were Ladrones, and that if they captured us they would most certainly put us all to death! Finding they gained fast on us, struck the masts, and pulled head to wind for five or six hours. The tide turning against us, anchored close under the land to avoid being seen. Soon after we saw the boats pass us to leeward.

Thursday, the 21st, at daylight, the flood making, weighed and pulled along shore in great spirits,

expecting to be at Macao in two or three hours, as by the Chinese account it was not above six or seven miles distant. After pulling a mile or two perceived several people on shore, standing close to the beach; they were armed with pikes and lances. I ordered the interpreter to hail them, and ask the most direct passage to Macao. They said if we came on shore they would inform us; not liking their hostile appearance, I did not think proper to comply with the request. Saw a large fleet of boats at anchor close under the opposite shore. Our interpreter said they were fishing-boats, and that by going there we should not only get provisions, but a pilot also to take us to Macao.

I bore up, and on nearing them perceived there were some large vessels, very full of men, and mounted with several guns. I hesitated to approach nearer; but the Chinese assuring me they were Mandarine junks * and salt-boats, we stood close to one of them, and asked the way to Macao. They gave no answer, but made some signs to us to go in shore. We passed on, and a large rowboat pulled after us; she soon came alongside, when about twenty savage-looking villains, who were stowed at the bottom of the boat, leaped on board us. They were armed with a short sword in each hand, one of which they laid on our necks, and the other pointed to our breasts, keeping their eyes fixed on their officer, waiting his signal to cut or desist. Seeing

* *Junk* is the Canton pronunciation of *chuen*, ship.

we were incapable of making any resistance, he sheathed his sword, and the others immediately followed his example. They then dragged us into their boat, and carried us on board one of their junks, with the most savage demonstrations of joy, and as we supposed, to torture and put us to a cruel death. When on board the junk, they searched all our pockets, took the handkerchiefs from our necks, and brought heavy chains to chain us to the guns.

At this time a boat came, and took me, with one of my men and the interpreter, on board the chief's vessel. I was then taken before the chief. He was seated on deck, in a large chair, dressed in purple silk, with a black turban on. He appeared to be about thirty years of age, a stout commanding-looking man. He took me by the coat, and drew me close to him; then questioned the interpreter very strictly, asking who we were, and what was our business in that part of the country. I told him to say we were Englishmen in distress, having been four days at sea without provisions. This he would not credit, but said we were bad men, and that he would put us all to death; and then ordered some men to put the interpreter to the torture until he confessed the truth.

Upon this occasion, a Ladrone, who had been once to England and spoke a few words of English, came to the chief, and told him we were really Englishmen, and that we had plenty of money, adding, that the buttons on my coat were gold. The chief

then ordered us some coarse brown rice, of which we made a tolerable meal, having eat nothing for nearly four days, except a few green oranges. During our repast, a number of Ladrones crowded round us, examining our clothes and hair, and giving us every possible annoyance. Several of them brought swords, and laid them on our necks, making signs that they would soon take us on shore, and cut us in pieces, which I am sorry to say was the fate of some hundreds during my captivity.

I was now summoned before the chief, who had been conversing with the interpreter; he said I must write to my captain, and tell him, if he did not send a hundred thousand dollars for our ransom, in ten days he would put us all to death. In vain did I assure him it was useless writing unless he would agree to take a much smaller sum; saying we were all poor men, and the most we could possibly raise would not exceed two thousand dollars. Finding that he was much exasperated at my expostulations, I embraced the offer of writing to inform my commander of our unfortunate situation, though there appeared not the least probability of relieving us. They said the letter should be conveyed to Macao in a fishing-boat, which would bring an answer in the morning. A small boat accordingly came alongside, and took the letter.

About six o'clock in the evening they gave us some rice and a little salt fish, which we ate, and they made signs for us to lay down on the deck to

sleep; but such numbers of Ladrones were constantly coming from different vessels to see us, and examine our clothes and hair, they would not allow us a moment's quiet. They were particularly anxious for the buttons of my coat, which were new, and as they supposed gold. I took it off, and laid it on the deck to avoid being disturbed by them; it was taken away in the night, and I saw it on the next day stripped of its buttons.

About nine o'clock a boat came and hailed the chief's vessel; he immediately hoisted his mainsail, and the fleet weighed apparently in great confusion. They worked to windward all night and part of the next day, and anchored about one o'clock in a bay under the island of Lantow, where the head admiral of Ladrones was lying at anchor, with about two hundred vessels and a Portuguese brig they had captured a few days before, and murdered the captain and part of the crew.

Saturday, the 23d, early in the morning, a fishing-boat came to the fleet to inquire if they had captured an European boat; being answered in the affirmative, they came to the vessel I was in. One of them spoke a few words of English, and told me he had a Ladrone-pass, and was sent by Captain Kay in search of us; I was rather surprised to find he had no letter. He appeared to be well acquainted with the chief, and remained in his cabin smoking opium, and playing cards all the day.*

* The pirates had many other intimate acquaintances on shore, like Doctor *Chow* of Macao.

In the evening I was summoned with the interpreter before the chief. He questioned us in a much milder tone, saying, he now believed we were Englishmen, a people he wished to be friendly with; and that if our captain would lend him seventy thousand dollars 'till he returned from his cruise up the river, he would repay him, and send us all to Macao. I assured him it was useless writing on those terms, and unless our ransom was speedily settled, the English fleet would sail, and render our enlargement altogether ineffectual. He remained determined, and said if it were not sent, he would keep us, and make us fight, or put us to death. I accordingly wrote, and gave my letter to the man belonging to the boat before mentioned. He said he could not return with an answer in less than five days.

The chief now gave me the letter I wrote when first taken. I have never been able to ascertain his reasons for detaining it, but suppose he dare not negotiate for our ransom without orders from the head admiral, who I understood was sorry at our being captured. He said the English ships would join the mandarines and attack them.* He told the chief that captured us, to dispose of us as he pleased.

* The pirates were always afraid of this. We find the following statement concerning the Chinese pirates, taken from the records in the East-India House, and printed in Appendix C. to the *Report relative to the trade with the East-Indies and China*, in the sessions 1820 and 1821 (reprinted 1829), p. 387.

"In the year 1808, 1809, and 1810, the Canton river was so infested with pirates, who were also in such force, that the Chinese government made an attempt to subdue them, but failed. The pirates totally destroyed the Chinese force; ravaged the river in

Monday, the 24th, it blew a strong gale, with constant hard rain; we suffered much from the cold and wet, being obliged to remain on deck with no covering but an old mat, which was frequently taken from us in the night by the Ladrões who were on watch. During the night the Portuguese who were left in the brig murdered the Ladrões that were on board of her, cut the cables, and fortunately escaped through the darkness of the night. I have since been informed they ran her on shore near Macao.

Tuesday, the 25th, at daylight in the morning, the fleet, amounting to about five hundred sail of different sizes, weighed, to proceed on their intended cruise up the rivers, to levy contributions on the towns and villages. It is impossible to describe what were my feelings at this critical time, having received no answers to my letters, and the fleet under-way to sail,—hundreds of miles up a country never visited by Europeans, there to remain probably for many months, which would render all opportunities of negotiating for our enlargement totally ineffectual; as the only method of communication is by boats, that have a pass from the Ladrões,

every direction; threatened to attack the city of Canton, and destroyed many towns and villages on the banks of the river; and killed or carried off, to serve as Ladrões, several thousands of inhabitants.

"These events created an alarm extremely prejudicial to the commerce of Canton, and compelled the Company's supercargoes to fit out a small country ship to cruise for a short time against the pirates."

and they dare not venture above twenty miles from Macao, being obliged to come and go in the night, to avoid the Mandarines; and if these boats should be detected in having any intercourse with the Ladrones, they are immediately put to death, and all their relations, though they had not joined in the crime,* share in the punishment, in order that not a single person of their families should be left to imitate their crimes or revenge their death. This severity renders communication both dangerous and expensive; no boat would venture out for less than a hundred Spanish dollars.

Wednesday, the 26th, at daylight, we passed in sight of our ships at anchor under the island of Chun Po. The chief then called me, pointed to the ships, and told the interpreter to tell us to look at them, for we should never see them again. About noon we entered a river to the westward of the Bogue, three or four miles from the entrance. We passed a large town situated on the side of a beautiful hill, which is tributary to the Ladrones; the inhabitants saluted them with songs as they passed.

The fleet now divided into two squadrons (the red and the black) † and sailed up different branches of the river. At midnight the division we were in anchored close to an immense hill, on the top of

* That the whole family must suffer for the crime of one individual, seems to be the most cruel and foolish law of the whole Chinese criminal code.

† We know by the "History of the Chinese Pirates," that these "wasps of the ocean," to speak with *Yuen tsze yung lun*, were originally divided into six squadrons.

which a number of fires were burning, which at daylight I perceived proceeded from a Chinese camp. At the back of the hill was a most beautiful town, surrounded by water; and embellished with groves of orange trees. The chop-house (custom-house) * and a few cottages were immediately plundered, and burned down; most of the inhabitants, however, escaped to the camp.

The Ladrones now prepared to attack the town with a formidable force, collected in rowboats from the different vessels. They sent a messenger to the town, demanding a tribute of ten thousand dollars annually, saying, if these terms were not complied with, they would land, destroy the town, and murder all the inhabitants; which they would certainly have done, had the town laid in a more advantageous situation for their purpose; but being placed out of the reach of their shot, they allowed them to come to terms. The inhabitants agreed to pay six thousand dollars, which they were to collect by the time of our return down the river. This finesse had the desired effect, for during our absence they mounted a few guns on a hill, which commanded the passage, and gave us in lieu of the dollars a warm salute on our return.

October the 1st, the fleet weighed in the night,

* In the barbarous Chinese-English spoken at Canton, all things are indiscriminately called *chop*. You hear of a chop-house, chop-boat, tea-chop, Chaou-chaou-chop, etc. To give a bill or agreement on making a bargain is in Chinese called *chā tan*; *chā* in the pronunciation of Canton is *chop*, which is then applied to any writing whatever.

dropped by the tide up the river, and anchored very quietly before a town surrounded by a thick wood. Early in the morning the Ladrones assembled in rowboats and landed; then gave a shout, and rushed into the town, sword in hand. The inhabitants fled to the adjacent hills, in numbers apparently superior to the Ladrones. We may easily imagine to ourselves the horror with which these miserable people must be seized, on being obliged to leave their homes, and everything dear to them. It was a most melancholy sight to see women in tears, clasping their infants in their arms, and imploring mercy for them from those brutal robbers! The old and the sick, who were unable to fly, or to make resistance, were either made prisoners or most inhumanly butchered! The boats continued passing and repassing from the junks to the shore, in quick succession, laden with booty, and the men besmeared with blood! Two hundred and fifty women, and several children, were made prisoners, and sent on board different vessels. They were unable to escape with the men, owing to that abominable practice of cramping their feet: several of them were not able to move without assistance, in fact, they might all be said to totter, rather than walk. Twenty of these poor women were sent on board the vessel I was in; they were hauled on board by the hair, and treated in a most savage manner.

When the chief came on board, he questioned them respecting the circumstances of their friends,

and demanded ransoms accordingly, from six thousand to six hundred dollars each. He ordered them a berth on deck, at the after part of the vessel, where they had nothing to shelter them from the weather, which at this time was very variable,—the days excessively hot, and the nights cold, with heavy rains. The town being plundered of every thing valuable, it was set on fire, and reduced to ashes by the morning. The fleet remained here three days, negotiating for the ransom of the prisoners, and plundering the fish-tanks and gardens. During all this time, the Chinese never ventured from the hills, though there were frequently not more than a hundred Ladrones on shore at a time, and I am sure the people on the hills exceeded ten times that number.*

October 5th, the fleet proceeded up another branch of the river, stopping at several small villages to receive tribute, which was generally paid in dollars, sugar and rice, with a few large pigs roasted whole, as presents for their joss (the idol they worship).† Every person on being ransomed, is obliged to present him with a pig, or some fowls, which the priest offers him with prayers; it remains before him a few hours, and is then divided amongst

* The following is the *Character of the Chinese of Canton, as given in ancient Chinese books*: "People of Canton are silly, light, weak in body, and weak in mind, without any ability to fight on land."

† *Joss* is a Chinese corruption of the Portuguese *Dios, God*. The Joss, or idol, of which Mr. Glasspoole speaks is the *San po shin*, which is spoken of in the work of Yuen tsze.

the crew. Nothing particular occurred 'till the 10th, except frequent skirmishes on shore between small parties of Ladrones and Chinese soldiers. They frequently obliged my men to go on shore, and fight with the muskets we had when taken, which did great execution, the Chinese principally using bows and arrows. They have match-locks, but use them very unskillfully.

On the 10th, we formed a junction with the black squadron, and proceeded many miles up a wide and beautiful river, passing several ruins of villages that had been destroyed by the black squadron. On the 17th, the fleet anchored abreast four mud batteries, which defended a town, so entirely surrounded with wood that it was impossible to form any idea of its size. The weather was very hazy, with hard squalls of rain. The Ladrones remained perfectly quiet for two days. On the third day the forts commenced a brisk fire for several hours: the Ladrones did not return a single shot, but weighed in the night and dropped down the river.

The reasons they gave for not attacking the town, or returning the fire, were that Joss had not promised them success. They are very superstitious, and consult their idol on all occasions. If his omens are good, they will undertake the most daring enterprises.

The fleet now anchored opposite the ruins of the town where the women had been made prisoners.

Here we remained five or six days, during which time about a hundred of the women were ransomed; the remainder were offered for sale amongst the Ladrones, for forty dollars each. The woman is considered the lawful wife of the purchaser, who would be put to death if he discarded her. Several of them leaped overboard and drowned themselves, rather than submit to such infamous degradation.

The fleet then weighed and made sail down the river, to receive the ransom from the town before mentioned. As we passed the hill, they fired several shots at us, but without effect. The Ladrones were much exasperated, and determined to revenge themselves; they dropped out of reach of their shot, and anchored. Every junk sent about a hundred men each on shore, to cut paddy, and destroy their orange-groves, which was most effectually performed for several miles down the river. During our stay here, they received information of nine boats lying up a creek, laden with paddy; boats were immediately dispatched after them.

Next morning these boats were brought to the fleet; ten or twelve men were taken in them. As these had made no resistance, the chief said he would allow them to become Ladrones, if they agreed to take the usual oaths before Joss. Three or four of them refused to comply, for which they were punished in the following cruel manner: their hands were tied behind their back, a rope from the mast-head rove through their arms, and hoisted

three or four feet from the deck, and five or six men flogged them with three rattans twisted together 'till they were apparently dead; then hoisted them up to the mast-head, and left them hanging nearly an hour, then lowered them down, and repeated the punishment, 'till they died or complied with the oath.

October the 20th, in the night, an express-boat came with the information that a large mandarine fleet was proceeding up the river to attack us. The chief immediately weighed, with fifty of the largest vessels, and sailed down the river to meet them. About one in the morning they commenced a heavy fire till daylight, when an express was sent for the remainder of the fleet to join them: about an hour after a counter-order to anchor came, the mandarine fleet having run. Two or three hours afterwards the chief returned with three captured vessels in tow, having sunk two, and eighty-three sail made their escape. The admiral of the mandarines blew his vessel up, by throwing a lighted match into the magazine as the Ladrones were boarding her; she ran on shore, and they succeeded in getting twenty of her guns.

In this action very few prisoners were taken: the men belonging to the captured vessels drowned themselves, as they were sure of suffering a lingering and cruel death if taken after making resistance. The admiral left the fleet in charge of his brother, the second in command, and proceeded with his own

vessel towards Lantow. The fleet remained in this river, cutting paddy, and getting the necessary supplies.

On the 28th of October, I received a letter from Captain Kay, brought by a fisherman, who had told him he would get us all back for three thousand dollars. He advised me to offer three thousand, and if not accepted, extend it to four; but not farther, as it was bad policy to offer much at first: at the same time assuring me we should be liberated, let the ransom be what it would. I offered the chief the three thousand, which he disdainfully refused, saying he was not to be played with; and unless they sent ten thousand dollars, and two large guns, with several casks of gunpowder, he would soon put us all to death. I wrote to Captain Kay, and informed him of the chief's determination, requesting if an opportunity offered, to send us a shift of clothes, for which it may be easily imagined we were much distressed, having been seven weeks without a shift; although constantly exposed to the weather, and of course frequently wet.

On the first of November, the fleet sailed up a narrow river, and anchored at night within two miles of a town called Little Whampoa. In front of it was a small fort, and several mandarine vessels lying in the harbor. The chief sent the interpreter to me, saying I must order my men to make cartridges and clean their muskets, ready to go on shore in the morning. I assured the interpreter I should

give the men no such orders, that they must please themselves. Soon after the chief came on board, threatening to put us all to a cruel death if we refused to obey his orders. For my own part I remained determined, and advised the men not to comply, as I thought by making ourselves useful we should be accounted too valuable.

A few hours afterwards he sent to me again, saying, that if myself and the quartermaster would assist them at the great guns, that if also the rest of the men went on shore and succeeded in taking the place, he would then take the money offered for our ransom, and give them twenty dollars for every Chinaman's head they cut off. To these proposals we cheerfully acceded, in hopes of facilitating our deliverance.

Early in the morning the forces intended for landing were assembled in rowboats, amounting in the whole to three or four thousand men. The largest vessels weighed, and hauled in shore, to cover the landing of the forces, and attack the fort and mandarine vessels. About nine o'clock the action commenced, and continued with great spirit for nearly an hour, when the walls of the fort gave way, and the men retreated in the greatest confusion.

The mandarine vessels still continued firing, having blocked up the entrance of the harbor to prevent the Ladrone boats entering. At this the Ladrones were much exasperated, and about three hun-

dred of them swam on shore, with a short sword lashed close under each arm; they then ran along the banks of the river 'till they came abreast of the vessels, and then swam off again and boarded them. The Chinese thus attacked, leaped overboard, and endeavored to reach the opposite shore; the Ladrones followed, and cut the greater number of them to pieces in the water. They next towed the vessels out of the harbor, and attacked the town with increased fury. The inhabitants fought about a quarter of an hour, and then retreated to an adjacent hill, from which they were soon driven with great slaughter.

After this the Ladrones returned, and plundered the town, every boat leaving it when laden. The Chinese on the hills perceiving most of the boats were off, rallied, and retook the town, after killing near two hundred Ladrones. One of my men was unfortunately lost in this dreadful massacre! The Ladrones landed a second time, drove the Chinese out of the town, then reduced it to ashes, and put all their prisoners to death, without regarding either age or sex!

I must not omit to mention a most horrid (though ludicrous) circumstance which happened at this place. The Ladrones were paid by their chief ten dollars for every Chinaman's head they produced. One of my men turning the corner of a street was met by a Ladrone running furiously after a Chinese; he had a drawn sword in his hand, and two

Chinaman's heads which he had cut off, tied by their tails, and slung round his neck. I was witness myself to some of them producing five or six to obtain payment!

On the 4th of November an order arrived from the admiral for the fleet to proceed immediately to Lantow, where he was lying with only two vessels, and three Portuguese ships and a brig constantly annoying him; several sail of mandarine vessels were daily expected. The fleet weighed and proceeded towards Lantow. On passing the island of Lintin, three ships and a brig gave chase to us. The Ladrones prepared to board; but night closing we lost sight of them: I am convinced they altered their course and stood from us. These vessels were in the pay of the Chinese government, and style themselves the Invincible Squadron, cruising in the river Tigris to annihilate the Ladrones!

On the fifth, in the morning, the red squadron anchored in a bay under Lantow; the black squadron stood to the eastward. In this bay they hauled several of their vessels on shore to bream their bottoms and repair them.

In the afternoon of the 8th of November, four ships, a brig and a schooner came off the mouth of the bay. At first the pirates were much alarmed, supposing them to be English vessels come to rescue us. Some of them threatened to hang us to the mast-head for them to fire at; and with much difficulty we persuaded them that they were Portuguese.

The Ladrones had only seven junks in a fit state for action; these they hauled outside, and moored them head and stern across the bay; and manned all the boats belonging to the repairing vessels ready for boarding.

The Portuguese observing these maneuvers hove to, and communicated by boats. Soon afterwards they made sail, each ship firing her broadside as she passed, but without effect, the shot falling far short. The Ladrones did not return a single shot, but waved their colors, and threw up rockets, to induce them to come further in, which they might easily have done, the outside junks lying in four fathoms water which I sounded myself: though the Portuguese in their letters to Macao lamented there was not sufficient water for them to engage closer, but that they would certainly prevent their escaping before the mandarine fleet arrived!

On the 20th of November, early in the morning, I perceived an immense fleet of mandarine vessels standing for the bay. On nearing us, they formed a line, and stood close in; each vessel as she discharged her guns tacked to join the rear and reload. They kept up a constant fire for about two hours, when one of their largest vessels was blown up by a firebrand thrown from a Ladrone junk; after which they kept at a more respectful distance, but continued firing without intermission 'till the 21st at night, when it fell calm.

The Ladrones towed out seven large vessels,

with about two hundred rowboats to board them; but a breeze springing up, they made sail and escaped. The Ladrones returned into the bay, and anchored. The Portuguese and mandarines followed, and continued a heavy cannonading during that night and the next day. The vessel I was in had her foremast shot away, which they supplied very expeditiously by taking a mainmast from a smaller vessel.

On the 23d, in the evening, it again fell calm; the Ladrones towed out fifteen junks in two divisions, with the intention of surrounding them, which was nearly effected, having come up with and boarded one, when a breeze suddenly sprung up. The captured vessel mounted twenty-two guns. Most of her crew leaped overboard; sixty or seventy were taken immediately, cut to pieces and thrown into the river. Early in the morning the Ladrones returned into the bay, and anchored in the same situation as before. The Portuguese and mandarines followed, keeping up a constant fire. The Ladrones never returned a single shot, but always kept in readiness to board, and the Portuguese were careful never to allow them an opportunity.

On the 28th, at night, they sent in eight fire-vessels, which if properly constructed must have done great execution, having every advantage they could wish for to effect their purpose; a strong breeze and tide directly into the bay, and the vessels lying so close together that it was impossible to miss them

On their first appearance the Ladrones gave a general shout, supposing them to be mandarine vessels on fire, but were very soon convinced of their mistake. They came very regularly into the center of the fleet, two and two, burning furiously; one of them came alongside of the vessel I was in, but they succeeded in booming her off. She appeared to be a vessel of about thirty tons; her hold was filled with straw and wood, and there were a few small boxes of combustibles on her deck, which exploded alongside of us without doing any damage. The Ladrones, however, towed them all on shore, extinguished the fire, and broke them up for fire-wood. The Portuguese claim the credit of constructing these destructive machines, and actually sent a dispatch to the Governor of Macao, saying they had destroyed at least one-third of the Ladrones' fleet, and hoped soon to effect their purpose by totally annihilating them!

On the 29th of November, the Ladrones being all ready for sea, they weighed and stood boldly out, bidding defiance to the invincible squadron and imperial fleet, consisting of ninety-three war-junks, six Portuguese ships, a brig, and a schooner. Immediately the Ladrones weighed, they made all sail. The Ladrones chased them two or three hours, keeping up a constant fire; finding they did not come up with them, they hauled their wind and stood to the eastward.

Thus terminated the boasted blockade, which

lasted nine days, during which time the Ladrone's completed all their repairs. In this action not a single Ladrone vessel was destroyed, and their loss about thirty or forty men. An American was also killed, one of three that remained out of eight taken in a schooner. I had two very narrow escapes: the first, a twelve-pounder shot fell within three or four feet of me; another took a piece out of a small brass-swivel on which I was standing. The chief's wife frequently sprinkled me with garlic-water, which they consider an effectual charm against shot. The fleet continued under sail all night, steering towards the eastward. In the morning they anchored in a large bay surrounded by lofty and barren mountains.

On the 2nd of December I received a letter from Lieutenant Maughn, commander of the Honorable Company's cruiser *Antelope*, saying that he had the ransom on board, and had been three days cruising after us, and wished me to settle with the chief on the securest method of delivering it. The chief agreed to send us in a small gunboat, 'till we came within sight of the *Antelope*; then the Compradore's boat was to bring the ransom and receive us.

I was so agitated at receiving this joyful news, that it was with considerable difficulty I could scrawl about two or three lines to inform Lieutenant Maughn of the arrangements I had made. We were all so deeply affected by the gratifying tidings, that we seldom closed our eyes, but continued watching

day and night for the boat. On the 6th she returned with Lieutenant Maughn's answer, saying he would respect any single boat; but would not allow the fleet to approach him. The chief then, according to his first proposal, ordered a gunboat to take us, and with no small degree of pleasure we left the Ladrone fleet about four o'clock in the morning.

At one P.M. saw the *Antelope* under all sail, standing toward us. The Ladrone boat immediately anchored, and dispatched the Compradore's boat for the ransom, saying, that if she approached nearer, they would return to the fleet; and they were just weighing when she shortened sail, and anchored about two miles from us. The boat did not reach her 'till late in the afternoon, owing to the tide's being strong against her. She received the ransom and left the *Antelope* just before dark. A mandarine boat that had been lying concealed under the land, and watching their maneuvers, gave chase to her, and was within a few fathoms of taking her, when she saw a light, which the Ladrones answered, and the Mandarin hauled off.

Our situation was now a most critical one; the ransom was in the hands of the Ladrones, and the Compradore dare not return with us for fear of a second attack from the mandarine boat. The Ladrones would not remain 'till morning, so we were obliged to return with them to the fleet.

In the morning the chief inspected the ransom, which consisted of the following articles: two bales

of superfine scarlet cloth; two chests of opium; two casks of gunpowder; and a telescope; the rest in dollars. He objected to the telescope not being new; and said he should detain one of us 'till another was sent, or a hundred dollars in lieu of it. The Compradore however agreed with him for the hundred dollars.

Every thing being at length settled, the chief ordered two gunboats to convey us near the *Antelope*; we saw her just before dusk, when the Ladrone boats left us. We had the inexpressible pleasure of arriving on board the *Antelope* at 7 P.M., where we were most cordially received, and heartily congratulated on our safe and happy deliverance from a miserable captivity, which we had endured for eleven weeks and three days.

*A few Remarks on the Origin, Progress, Manners,
and Customs of the Ladrones*

THE Ladrones are a disaffected race of Chinese, that revolted against the oppressions of the mandarins. They first commenced their depredations on the Western coast (Cochin-China), by attacking small trading vessels in rowboats, carrying from thirty to forty men each. They continued this system of piracy several years; at length their successes, and the oppressive state of the Chinese, had the effect of rapidly increasing their numbers. Hundreds of fishermen and others flocked to their standard; and as their number increased they conse-

quently became more desperate. They blockaded all the principal rivers, and captured several large junks, mounting from ten to fifteen guns each.

With these junks they formed a very formidable fleet, and no small vessels could trade on the coast with safety. They plundered several small villages, and exercised such wanton barbarity as struck horror into the breasts of the Chinese. To check these enormities the government equipped a fleet of forty imperial war-junks, mounting from eighteen to twenty guns each. On the very first rencontre, twenty-eight of the imperial junks struck to the pirates; the rest saved themselves by a precipitate retreat.

These junks, fully equipped for war, were a great acquisition to them. Their numbers augmented so rapidly, that at the period of my captivity they were supposed to amount to near seventy thousand men, eight hundred large vessels, and nearly a thousand small ones, including rowboats. They were divided into five squadrons, distinguished by different colored flags: each squadron commanded by an admiral, or chief; but all under the orders of A-juo-Chay (Ching yih saou), their premier chef, a most daring and enterprising man, who went so far as to declare his intention of displacing the present Tartar family from the throne of China, and to restore the ancient Chinese dynasty.

This extraordinary character would have certainly shaken the foundation of the government, had

he not been thwarted by the jealousy of the second in command, who declared his independence, and soon after surrendered to the mandarines with five hundred vessels, on promise of a pardon. Most of the inferior chiefs followed his example. A-juo-Chay (Ching yih saou) held out a few months longer, and at length surrendered with sixteen thousand men, on condition of a general pardon, and himself to be made a mandarine of distinction.

The Ladrones have no settled residence on shore, but live constantly in their vessels. The after-part is appropriated to the captain and his wives; he generally has five or six. With respect to conjugal rights they are religiously strict; no person is allowed to have a woman on board, unless married to her according to their laws. Every man is allowed a small berth, about four feet square, where he stows with his wife and family.

From the number of souls crowded in so small a space, it must naturally be supposed they are horridly dirty, which is evidently the case, and their vessels swarm with all kinds of vermin. Rats in particular, which they encourage to breed, and eat them as great delicacies; in fact, there are very few creatures they will not eat. During our captivity we lived three weeks on caterpillars boiled with rice. They are much addicted to gambling, and spend all their leisure hours at cards and smoking opium.

THE FEMALE CAPTIVE *

LUCRETIA PARKER

THE event which is here related is the capture by the Pirates of the English sloop *Eliza Ann*, bound from St. Johns to Antigua, and the massacre of the whole crew (ten in number) with the exception of one female passenger, whose life, by the interposition of Divine Providence, was miraculously preserved. The particulars are copied from a letter written by the unfortunate Miss Parker (the female passenger above alluded to) to her brother in New York.

"St. Johns, April 3, 1825.

"Dear Brother,

"You have undoubtedly heard of my adverse fortune, and the shocking incident that has attended me since I had the pleasure of seeing you in November last. Anticipating your impatience to be made acquainted with a more circumstantial detail of my extraordinary adventures, I shall not on account of the interest which I know you must feel in my welfare, hesitate to oblige you; yet, I must declare to you that it is that consideration alone

* From an Old Pamphlet, published in 1825.

that prompts me to do it, as even the recollection of the scenes which I have witnessed you must be sensible must ever be attended with pain: and that I cannot reflect on what I have endured, and the scenes of horror that I have been witness to, without the severest shock. I shall now, brother, proceed to furnish you with a detail of my misfortunes as they occurred, without exaggeration, and if it should be your wish to communicate them to the public, through the medium of a public print, or in any other way, you are at liberty to do it, and I shall consider myself amply rewarded if in a single instance it proves beneficial in removing a doubt in the minds of such, who, although they dare not deny the existence of a Supreme Being, yet disbelieve that he ever in any way revealed Himself to his creatures. Let Philosophy (as it is termed) smile with pity or contempt on my weakness or credulity, yet the superintendence of a particular PROVIDENCE, interfering by second causes, is so apparent to me, and was so conspicuously displayed in the course of my afflictions, that I shall not banish it from my mind from the beginning to the end of my narration.

On the 28th February I took passage on board the sloop *Eliza Ann*, captain Charles Smith, for Antigua, in compliance with the earnest request of brother Thomas and family, who had advised me that they had concluded to make that island the place of their permanent residence, having a few

months previous purchased there a valuable Plantation. We set sail with a favorable wind, and with every appearance of a short and pleasant voyage, and met with no incident to destroy or diminish those flattering prospects, until about noon of the 14th day from that of our departure, when a small schooner was discovered standing toward us, with her deck full of men, and as she approached us from her suspicious appearance there was not a doubt in the minds of any on board, but that she was a Pirate. When within a few yards of us, they gave a shout and our decks were instantly crowded with the motley crew of desperadoes, armed with weapons of almost every description that can be mentioned, and with which they commenced their barbarous work by unmercifully beating and maiming all on board except myself. As a retreat was impossible, and finding myself surrounded by wretches, whose yells, oaths, and imprecations, made them more resemble demons than human-beings, I fell on my knees, and from one who appeared to have the command, I begged for mercy, and for permission to retire to the cabin, that I might not be either the subject or a witness of the murderous scene that I had but little doubt was about to ensue. The privilege was not refused me. The monster in human shape (for such was then his appearance) conducted me by the hand himself to the companionway, and pointing to the cabin said to me, "Descend and remain there and you will be

perfectly safe, for although Pirates, we are not barbarians to destroy the lives of innocent females!" Saying this he closed the companion doors and left me alone, to reflect on my helpless and deplorable situation. It is indeed impossible for me, brother, to paint to your imagination what were my feelings at this moment; being the only female on board, my terror it cannot be expected was much less than that of the poor devoted mariners! I resigned my life to the Being who had lent it, and did not fail to improve the opportunity (which I thought it not improbable might be my last, to call on Him for that protection, which my situation so much at this moment required—and never shall I be persuaded but that my prayers were heard.

While I remained in this situation, by the sound of the clashing of swords, attended by shrieks and dismal groans, I could easily imagine what was going on on deck, and anticipated nothing better than the total destruction by the Pirates of the lives of all on board. After I had remained about one hour and a half alone in the cabin, and all had become silent on deck, the cabin doors were suddenly thrown open, and eight or ten of the Piratical crew entered, preceded by him whom I had suspected to be their leader, and from whom I had received assurances that I should not be injured. By him I was again addressed and requested to banish all fears of personal injury—that they sought only for the money which they suspected to be secreted some-

where on board the vessel, and which they were determined to have, although unable to extort a disclosure of the place of its concealment by threats and violence from the crew. The Pirates now commenced a thorough search throughout the cabin, the trunks and chests belonging to the captain and mate were broken open, and rifled of their most valuable contents—nor did my baggage and stores meet with any better fate, indeed this was a loss which at this moment caused me but little uneasiness. I felt that my life was in too much jeopardy to lament in any degree the loss of my worldly goods, surrounded as I was by a gang of the most ferocious looking villains that my eyes ever before beheld, of different complexions, and each with a drawn weapon in his hand, some of them fresh crimsoned with the blood (as I then supposed) of my murdered countrymen and whose horrid imprecations and oaths were enough to appal the bravest heart!

Their search for money proving unsuccessful (with the exception of a few dollars which they found in the captain's chest) they returned to the deck, and setting sail on the sloop, steered her for the place of their rendezvous, a small island or key not far distant I imagine from the island of Cuba, where we arrived the day after our capture. The island was nearly barren, producing nothing but a few scattered mangroves and shrubs, interspersed with the miserable huts of these outlaws of civiliza-

tion, among whom power formed the only law, and every species of iniquity was here carried to an extent of which no person who had not witnessed a similar degree of pollution, could form the most distant idea.

As soon as the sloop was brought to an anchor, the hatches were thrown off and the unfortunate crew ordered on deck—a command which to my surprise was instantly obeyed, as I had harboured strong suspicions that they had been all murdered by the Pirates the day previous. The poor devoted victims, although alive, exhibited shocking proofs of the barbarity with which they had been treated by the unmerciful Pirates; their bodies exhibiting deep wounds and bruises too horrible for me to attempt to describe! Yet, however great had been their sufferings, their lives had been spared only to endure still greater torments. Being strongly pinioned they were forced into a small leaky boat and rowed on shore, which we having reached and a division of the plunder having been made by the Pirates, a scene of the most bloody and wanton barbarity ensued, the bare recollection of which still chills my blood. Having first divested them of every article of clothing but their shirts and trousers, with swords, knives, axes, etc., they fell on the unfortunate crew of the *Eliza Ann* with the ferocity of cannibals. In vain did they beg for mercy and intreat of their murderers to spare their lives. In vain did poor capt. S. attempt to

touch their feelings and to move them to pity by representing to them the situation of his innocent family; that he had a wife and three small children at home wholly dependent on him for support. But, alas, the poor man intreated in vain. His appeal was to monsters possessing hearts callous to the feelings of humanity. Having received a heavy blow from one with an ax, he snapped the cords with which he was bound, and attempted an escape by flight, but was met by another of the ruffians, who plunged a knife or dirk to his heart. I stood near him at this moment and was covered with his blood. On receiving the fatal wound he gave a single groan and fell lifeless at my feet. Nor were the remainder of the crew more fortunate. The mate while on his knees imploring mercy, and promising to accede to anything that the vile assassins should require of him, on condition of his life being spared, received a blow from a club, which instantaneously put a period to his existence! Dear brother, need I attempt to paint to your imagination my feelings at this awful moment? Will it not suffice for me to say that I have described to you a scene of horror which I was compelled to witness! and with the expectation too of being the next victim selected by these ferocious monsters, whose thirst for blood appeared to be insatiable. There appeared now but one alternative left me, which was to offer up a prayer to Heaven for the protection of that Being who has power to stay the

assassin's hand, and "who is able to do exceeding abundantly above what we can ask or think,"—sincerely in the language of scripture I can say, "I found trouble and sorrow, then called I upon the name of the Lord."

I remained on my knees until the inhuman wretches had completed their murderous work, and left none but myself to lament the fate of those who but twenty-four hours before, were animated with the pleasing prospects of a quick passage, and a speedy return to the bosoms of their families! The wretch by whom I had been thrice promised protection, and who seemed to reign chief among them, again approached me with hands crimsoned with the blood of my murdered countrymen, and, with a savage smile, once more repeated his assurances that if I would but become reconciled to my situation, I had nothing to fear. There was indeed something truly terrific in the appearance of this man, or rather monster as he ought to be termed. He was of a swarthy complexion, near six feet in height, his eyes were large, black and penetrating; his expression was remarkable, and when silent, his looks were sufficient to declare his meaning. He wore around his waist a leathern belt, to which was suspended a sword, a brace of pistols and a dirk. He was as I was afterward informed the acknowledged chief among the Pirates, all appeared to stand in awe of him, and no one dared to disobey his commands. Such, dear brother, was the character who had

promised me protection if I would become reconciled to my situation, in other words, subservient to his will. But, whatever might have been his intentions, although now in his power, without a visible friend to protect me, yet such full reliance did I place in the Supreme Being, who sees and knows all things, and who has promised his protection to the faithful in the hour of tribulation, that I felt myself in a less degree of danger than you or any one would probably imagine.

As the day drew near to a close, I was conducted to a small temporary hut or cabin, where I was informed I might repose peaceably for the night, which I did without being disturbed by any one. This was another opportunity that I did not suffer to pass unimproved to pour out my soul to that Being, who had already given me reasons to believe that he did not say to the house of Jacob, seek you me in vain. Oh! that all sincere Christians would in every difficulty make Him their refuge; He is a hopeful stay.

Early in the morning ensuing I was visited by the wretch alone whom I had viewed as chief of the murderous band. As he entered and cast his eyes upon me, his countenance relaxed from its usual ferocity to a feigned smile. Without speaking a word, he seated himself on a bench that the cabin contained, and drawing a table toward him, leaned upon it resting his cheek upon his hand. His eyes for some moments were fixed in stedfast gaze

upon the ground, while his whole soul appeared to be devoured by the most diabolical thoughts. In a few moments he arose from his seat and hastily traversed the hut, apparently in extreme agitation, and not unfrequently fixing his eyes stedfastly upon me. But, that Providence, which while it protects the innocent, never suffers the wicked to go unpunished, interposed to save me and to deliver me from the hands of this remorseless villain, at the very instant when in all probability he intended to have destroyed my happiness forever.

On a sudden the Pirate's bugle was sounded, which (as I was afterward informed) was the usual signal of a sail in sight. The ruffian monster thereupon without uttering a word left my apartment, and hastened with all speed to the place of their general rendezvous on such occasions. Flattered by the pleasing hope that Providence might be about to complete her work of mercy, and was conducting to the dreary island some friendly aid, to rescue me from my perilous situation, I mustered courage to ascend to the roof of my hovel, to discover if possible the cause of the alarm, and what might be the issue.

A short distance from the island I espied a sail which appeared to be lying to, and a few miles therefrom to the windward, another, which appeared to be bearing down under a press of sail for the former—in a moment the whole gang of Pirates, with the exception of four, were in their

boats, and with their oars, etc., were making every possible exertion to reach the vessel nearest to their island; but by the time they had effected their object the more distant vessel (which proved to be a British sloop of war disguised) had approached them within fair gunshot, and probably knowing or suspecting their characters, opened their ports and commenced a destructive fire upon them. The Pirates were now, as nearly as I could judge with the naked eye, thrown into great confusion. Every possible exertion appeared to have been made by them to reach the island, and escape from their pursuers. Some jumped from their boats and attempted to gain the shore by swimming, but these were shot in the water, and the remainder who remained in their boats were very soon after overtaken and captured by two well manned boats dispatched from the sloop of war for that purpose; and, soon had I the satisfaction to see them all on board of the sloop, and in the power of those from whom I was fully satisfied that they would meet with the punishment due to their crimes.

In describing the characters of this Piratical band of robbers, I have, dear brother, represented them as wretches of the most frightful and ferocious appearance—blood-thirsty monsters, who, in acts of barbarity ought only to be ranked with cannibals, who delight to feast on human flesh. Rendered desperate by their crimes and aware that they should find no mercy if so unfortunate as to fall into

the hands of those to whom they show no mercy, to prevent a possibility of detection, and the just execution of the laws wantonly destroy the lives of every one, however innocent, who may be so unfortunate as to fall into their power—such, indeed, brother, is the true character of the band of Pirates (to the number of 30 or 40) by whom it was my misfortune to be captured, with the exception of a single one, who possessed a countenance less savage, and had the appearance of possessing a heart less callous to the feelings of humanity. Fortunately for me, as Divine Providence ordered, this person was one of the four who remained on the island, and on whom the command involved after the unexpected disaster which had deprived them forever of so great a portion of their comrades. From this man (after the capture of the murderous tyrant to whose commands he had been compelled to yield) I received the kindest treatment, and assurances that I should be restored to liberty and to my friends when an opportunity should present, or when it could be consistently done with the safety of their lives and liberty.

This unhappy man (for such he declared himself to be) took an opportunity to indulge me with a partial relation of a few of the most extraordinary incidents of his life. He declared himself an Englishman by birth, but his real name and place of nativity was he said a secret he would never disclose! “although I must (said he) acknowledge

myself by profession a Pirate, yet I can boast of respectable parentage, and the time once was when I myself sustained an unimpeachable character. Loss of property, through the treachery of those whom I considered friends, and in whom I had placed implicit confidence, was what first led me to and induced me to prefer this mode of life, to any of a less criminal nature—but, although I voluntarily became the associate of a band of wretches the most wicked and unprincipled perhaps on earth, yet I solemnly declare that I have not in any one instance personally deprived an innocent fellow creature of life. It was an act of barbarity at which my heart ever recoiled, and against which I always protested. With the property I always insisted we ought to be satisfied, without the destruction of the lives of such who were probably the fathers of families, and who had never offended us. But our gang was as you may suppose chiefly composed of and governed by men without principle, who appeared to delight in the shedding of blood, and whose only excuse has been that by acting with too much humanity in sparing life, they might thereby be exposed and themselves arraigned to answer for their crimes at an earthly tribunal. You can have no conception, madam (continued he), of the immense property that has been piratically captured, and of the number of lives that have been destroyed by this gang alone, and all without the loss of a single one on our part until yesterday, when by an

unexpected circumstance our number has been reduced as you see from thirty-five to four! This island has not been our constant abiding place, but the bodies of such as have suffered here have always been conveyed a considerable distance from the shore, and thrown into the sea, where they were probably devoured by the sharks, as not a single one has ever been known afterward to drift on our shores. The property captured has not been long retained on this island, but shipped to a neighboring port, where we have an agent to dispose of it.

“Of the great number of vessels captured by us (continued he) you are the first and only female that has been so unfortunate as to fall into our hands—and from the moment that I first saw you in our power (well knowing the brutal disposition of him whom we acknowledged our chief) I trembled for your safety, and viewed you as one deprived perhaps of the protection of a husband or brother, to become the victim of an unpitying wretch, whose pretended regard for your sex, and his repeated promises of protection, were hypocritical—a mere mask to lull your fears until he could effect your ruin. His hellish designs, agreeable to his own declarations, would have been carried into effect the very morning that he last visited you, had not an all-wise Providence interfered to save you—and so sensible am I that the unexpected circumstance of his capture, as well as that of the most of our gang, as desperate and un-

principled as himself, must have been by order of Him, from whose all-seeing eye no evil transaction can be hidden, that were I so disposed I should be deterred from doing you any injury through fear of meeting with a similar fate. Nor do my three remaining companions differ with me in opinion, and we all now most solemnly pledge ourselves, that so long as you remain in our power, you shall have nothing to complain of but the deprivation of the society of those whose company no doubt would be more agreeable to you; and as soon as it can be done consistently with our own safety, you shall be conveyed to a place from which you may obtain a passage to your friends. We have now become too few in number to hazard a repetition of our Piratical robberies, and not only this, but some of our captured companions to save their own lives, may prove treacherous enough to betray us; we are therefore making preparation to leave this island for a place of more safety, when you, madam, shall be conveyed and set at liberty as I have promised you."

Dear brother, if you before doubted, is not the declaration of this man (which I have recorded as correctly as my recollection will admit of) sufficient to satisfy you that I owe my life and safety to the interposition of a Divine Providence! Oh, yes! surely it is—and I feel my insufficiency to thank and praise my Heavenly Protector as I ought, for his loving kindness in preserving me from the evil de-

signs of wicked men, and for finally restoring me to liberty and to my friends!

I cannot praise Him as I would,
But He is merciful and good.

From this moment every preparation was made by the Pirates to remove from the island. The small quantity of stores and goods which remained on hand (principally of the *Ann Eliza's* cargo) was either buried on the island, or conveyed away in their boats in the night to some place unknown to me. The last thing done was to demolish their temporary dwellings, which was done so effectually as not to suffer a vestige of any thing to remain that could have led to a discovery that the island had ever been inhabited by such a set of beings. Eleven days from that of the capture of the *Ann Eliza* (the Pirates having previously put on board several bags of dollars, which from the appearance of the former, I judged had been concealed in the earth) I was ordered to embark with them, but for what place I then knew not.

About midnight I was landed on the rocky shores of an island which they informed me was Cuba, they furnished me with a few hard biscuit and a bottle of water, and directed me to proceed early in the morning in a northeast direction, to a house about a mile distant, where I was told I would be well treated and be furnished with a guide that would conduct me to Mantansies. With these

directions they left me, and I never saw them more.

At daybreak I set out in search of the house to which I had been directed by the Pirates, and which I had the good fortune to reach in safety in about an hour and a half. It was a humble tenement thatched with canes, without any flooring but the ground, and was tenanted by a man and his wife only, from whom I met with a welcome reception, and by whom I was treated with much hospitality. Although Spaniards, the man could speak and understand enough English to converse with me, and to learn by what means I had been brought so unexpectedly alone and unprotected to his house. Though it was the same to which I had been directed by the Pirates, yet he declared that so far from being in any way connected with them in their Piratical robberies, or enjoying any portion of their ill-gotten gain, no one could hold them in greater abhorrence. Whether he was sincere in these declarations or not, is well known to Him whom the lying tongue cannot deceive—it is but justice to them to say that by both the man and his wife I was treated with kindness, and it was with apparent emotions of pity that they listened to the tale of my sufferings. By their earnest request I remained with them until the morning ensuing, when I set out on foot for Mantansies, accompanied by the Spaniard who had kindly offered to conduct me to that place, which we reached about seven in the evening of the same day.

At Mantansies I found many Americans and Europeans, by whom I was kindly treated, and who proffered their services to restore me to my friends, but as there were no vessels bound direct from thence to Antigua or St. Johns, I was persuaded to take passage for Jamaica, where it was the opinion of my friends I might obtain a passage more speedily for one or the other place, and where I safely arrived after a pleasant passage of four days.

The most remarkable and unexpected circumstance of my extraordinary adventures, I have yet, dear brother, to relate. Soon after my arrival at Jamaica, the Authority having been made acquainted with the circumstance of my recent capture by the Pirates, and the extraordinary circumstance which produced my liberation, requested that I might be conducted to the Prison, to see if I could among a number of Pirates recently committed, recognize any of those by whom I had been captured. I was accordingly attended by two or three gentlemen, and two young ladies (who had politely offered to accompany me) to the prison apartment, on entering which, I not only instantly recognized among a number therein confined, the identical savage monster of whom I have had so much occasion to speak (the Pirates' Chief) but the most of those who had composed his gang, and who were captured with him!

The sudden and unexpected introduction into their apartment of one, whom they had probably

in their minds numbered with the victims of their wanton barbarity, produced unquestionably on their minds not an inconsiderable degree of horror as well as surprise! and, considering their condemnation now certain, they no doubt heaped curses upon their more fortunate companions, for sparing the life and setting at liberty one whom an all-wise Providence had conducted to and placed in a situation to bear witness to their unprecedented barbarity.

Government having through me obtained the necessary proof of the guilt of these merciless wretches, after a fair and impartial trial they were all condemned to suffer the punishment due to their crimes, and seven ordered for immediate execution, one of whom was the barbarian their chief. After the conviction and condemnation of this wretch, in hopes of eluding the course of justice, he made (as I was informed) an attempt upon his own life, by inflicting upon himself deep wounds with a knife which he had concealed for that purpose; but in this he was disappointed, the wounds not proving so fatal as he probably anticipated.

I never saw this hardened villain or any of his equally criminal companions after their condemnation, although strongly urged to witness their execution, and am therefore indebted to one who daily visited them, for the information of their behavior from that period until that of their execution; which, as regarded the former, I was informed was extremely impenitent—that while proceeding to the

place of ignominy and death, he talked with shocking unconcern, hinting that by being instrumental in the destruction of so many lives, he had become too hardened and familiar with death to feel much intimidated at its approach! He was attended to the place of execution by a Roman Catholic Priest, who it was said labored to convince him of the atrociousness of his crimes, but he seemed deaf to all admonition or exhortation, and appeared insensible to the hope of happiness or fear of torment in a future state—and so far from exhibiting a single symptom of penitence, declared that he knew of but one thing for which he had cause to reproach himself, which was in sparing my life and not ordering me to be butchered as the others had been! How awful was the end of the life of this miserable criminal! He looked not with harmony, regard, or a single penitent feeling toward one human being in the last agonies of an ignominious death.

After remaining nine days at Jamaica, I was so fortunate as to obtain a passage with Capt. Ellsmore, direct for St. Johns—the thoughts of once more returning home and of so soon joining my anxious friends, when I could have an opportunity to communicate to my aged parents, to a beloved sister and a large circle of acquaintances, the sad tale of the misfortunes which had attended me since I bid them adieu, would have been productive of the most pleasing sensations, had they not been interrupted by the melancholy reflection that I was

the bearer of tidings of the most heart-rending nature, to the bereaved families of those unfortunate husbands and parents who had in my presence fallen victims to Piratical barbarity. Thankful should I have been had the distressing duty fell to the lot of some one of less sensibility—but, unerring Providence had ordered otherwise. We arrived safe at our port of destination after a somewhat boisterous passage of 18 days. I found my friends all well, but the effects produced on their minds by the relation of the distressing incidents and adverse fortune that had attended me since my departure, I shall not attempt to describe—and much less can you expect, brother, that I should attempt a description of the feelings of the afflicted widow and fatherless child, who first received from me the melancholy tidings that they were so!

Thus, brother, have I furnished you with as minute a detail of the sad misfortunes that have attended me, in my intended passage to Antigua, in February and March last, as circumstances will admit of—and here permit me once more to repeat the enquiry—is it not sufficient to satisfy you and every reasonable person, that I owe my life and liberty to the interposition of a Divine Providence?—so fully persuaded am I of this, dear brother, and of my great obligations to that Supreme Being who turned not away my prayer nor his mercy from me, that I am determined to engage with my whole heart to serve Him the residue of my days on earth,

by the aid of his heavenly grace—and invite all who profess to fear Him (should a single doubt remain on their minds) to come and hear what he hath done for me!

I am, dear brother, affectionately yours,

LUCRETIA PARKER."

THE PASSING OF MOGUL MACKENZIE

The Last of the North Atlantic Pirates *

ARTHUR HUNT CHUTE

IN the farther end of the Bay of Fundy, about a mile off from the Nova Scotian coast, is the Isle of Haut. It is a strange rocky island that rises several hundred feet sheer out of the sea, without any bay or inlets. A landing can only be effected there in the calmest weather; and on account of the tremendous ebb of the Fundy tides, which rise and fall sixty feet every twelve hours, the venturesome explorer cannot long keep his boat moored against the precipitous cliffs.

Because of this inaccessibility little is known of the solitary island. Within its rampart walls of rock they say there is a green valley, and in its center is a fathomless lake, where the Micmac Indians used to bury their dead, and hence its dread appellation of the "Island of the Dead." Beyond these bare facts nothing more is certain about the secret valley and the haunted lake. Many wild and fabulous descriptions are current, but they are merely the weavings of fancy.

Sometimes on a stormy night the unhappy navigators of the North Channel miss the coast lights

* From *Blackwood's Magazine*.

in the fog, and out from the Isle of Haut a gentle undertow flirts with their bewildered craft. Then little by little they are gathered into a mighty current against which all striving is in vain, and in the white foam among the iron cliffs their ship is pounded into splinters. The quarry which she gathers in so softly at first and so fiercely at last, however, is soon snatched away from the siren shore. The ebb-tide bears every sign of wreckage far out into the deeps of the Atlantic, and not a trace remains of the ill-starred vessel or her crew. But one of the boats in the fishing fleet never comes home, and from lonely huts on the coast reproachful eyes are cast upon the "Island of the Dead."

On the long winter nights, when the "boys" gather about the fire in Old Steele's General Stores at Hall's Harbor, their hard gray life becomes bright for a spell. When a keg of hard cider is flowing freely the grim fishermen forget their taciturnity, the ice is melted from their speech, and the floodgates of their souls pour forth. But ever in the background of their talk, unforgotten, like a haunting shadow, is the "Island of the Dead." Of their weirdest and most blood-curdling yarns it is always the center; and when at last, with uncertain steps, they leave the empty keg and the dying fire to turn homeward through the drifting snow, fearful and furtive glances are cast to where the island looms up like a ghostly sentinel from the sea. Across its high promontory the Northern Lights

scintillate and blaze, and out of its moving brightness the terrified fishermen behold the war-canoes of dead Indians freighted with their redskin braves; the forms of *cœur de bois* and desperate Frenchmen swinging down the sky-line in a ghastly snake-dance; the shapes and spars of ships long since forgotten from the "Missing List"; and always, most dread-inspiring of them all, the distress signals from the sinking ship of Mogul Mackenzie and his pirate crew.

Captain Mogul Mackenzie was the last of the pirates to scourge the North Atlantic seaboard. He came from that school of freebooters that was let loose by the American Civil War. With a letter of marque from the Confederate States, he sailed the seas to prey on Yankee shipping. He and his fellow-privateers were so thorough in their work of destruction, that the Mercantile Marine of the United States was ruined for a generation to come. When the war was over the defeated South called off her few remaining bloodhounds on the sea. But Mackenzie, who was still at large, had drunk too deeply of the wine of a wild, free life. He did not return to lay down his arms, but began on a course of shameless piracy. He lived only a few months under the black flag, until he went down on the Isle of Haut. The events of that brief and thrilling period are unfortunately obscure, with only a ray of light here and there. But the story of his passing is

the most weird of all the strange yarns that are spun about the "Island of the Dead."

In May, 1865, a gruesome discovery was made off the coast of Maine, which sent a chill of fear through all the seaport towns of New England. A whaler bound for New Bedford was coming up Cape Cod one night long after dark. There was no fog, and the lights of approaching vessels could easily be discerned. The man on the lookout felt no uneasiness at his post, when, without any warning of bells or lights, the sharp bow of a brigantine suddenly loomed up, hardly a ship's length in front.

"What the blazes are you trying to do?" roared the mate from the bridge, enraged at this unheard-of violation of the right of way. But no voice answered his challenge, and the brigantine went swinging by, with all her sails set to a spanking breeze. She bore directly across the bow of the whaler, which just grazed her stern in passing.

"There's something rotten on board there," said the mate.

"Ay," said the captain, who had come on the bridge, "there's something rotten there right enough. Swing your helm to port, and get after the devils," he ordered.

"Ay, ay, sir!" came the ready response, and nothing loth the helmsman changed his course to follow the eccentric craft. She was evidently bound on some secret mission, for not otherwise would she

thus tear through the darkness before the wind without the flicker of a light.

The whaler was the swifter of the two ships, and she could soon have overhauled the other; but fearing some treachery, the captain refrained from running her down until daylight. All night long she seemed to be veering her course, attempting to escape from her pursuer. In the morning, off the coast of Maine, she turned her nose directly out to sea. Then a boat was lowered from the whaler, and rowed out to intercept the oncoming vessel. When they were directly in her course, they lay on their oars and waited. The brigantine did not veer again, but came steadily on, and soon the whalers were alongside, and made themselves fast to a dinghy which she had in tow. A few minutes of apprehensive waiting followed, and as nothing happened, one of the boldest swung himself up over the tow-rope on to the deck. He was followed by the others, and they advanced cautiously with drawn knives and pistols.

Not a soul was to be seen, and the men, who were brave enough before a charging whale, trembled with fear. The wheel and the lookout were alike deserted, and no sign of life could be discovered anywhere below. In the galley were the embers of a dead fire, and the table in the captain's cabin was spread out ready for a meal which had never been eaten. On deck everything was spick and span, and not the slightest evidence of a storm or any other

disturbance could be found. The theory of a derelict was impossible. Apparently all had been well on board, and they had been sailing with good weather, when, without any warning, her crew had been suddenly snatched away by some dread power.

The sailors with one accord agreed that it was the work of a sea-serpent. But the mate had no place for the ordinary superstitions of the sea, and he still scoured the hold, expecting at any minute to encounter a dead body or some other evil evidence of foul play. Nothing more, however, was found, and the mate at length had to end his search with the unsatisfactory conclusion that the *St. Clare*, a brigantine registered from Hartpool, with cargo of lime, had been abandoned on the high seas for no apparent reason. Her skipper had taken with him the ship's papers, and had not left a single clue behind.

A crew was told off to stand by the *St. Clare* to bring her into port, and the others climbed into the long-boat to row back to the whaler.

"Just see if there is a name on that there dinghy, before we go," said the mate.

An exclamation of horror broke from one of the men as he read on the bow of the dinghy the name, *Kanawha*.

The faces of all went white with a dire alarm as the facts of the mystery suddenly flashed before them. The *Kanawha* was the ship in which Captain Mogul Mackenzie had made himself notorious as a privateersman. Every one had heard her awe-

inspiring name, and every Yankee seafaring man prayed that he might never meet her on the seas. After the *Alabama* was sunk, and the *Talahassee* was withdrawn, the *Kanawha* still remained to threaten the shipping of the North. For a long time her whereabouts had been unknown, and then she was discovered by a Federal gunboat, which gave chase and fired upon her. Without returning fire, she raced in for shelter amongst the dangerous islands off Cape Sable, and was lost in the fog. Rumor had it that she ran on the rocks off that perilous coast, and sank with all on board. As time went by, and there was no more sign of the corsair, the rumor was accepted as proven. Men began to spin yarns in the fore-castle about Mogul Mackenzie, with an interest that was tinged with its former fear. Skippers were beginning to feel at ease again on the grim waters, when suddenly, like a bolt from the blue, came the awful news of the discovery of the *St. Clare*.

Gunboats put off to scour the coast-line; and again with fear and trembling the look-out began to eye suspiciously every new sail coming up on the horizon.

One afternoon, toward the end of May, a schooner came tearing into Portland harbor, with all her canvas crowded on, and flying distress signals. Her skipper said that off the island of Campabello he had seen a long gray sailing-ship with auxiliary power sweeping down upon him. As the wind

was blowing strong inshore, he had taken to his heels and made for Portland. He was chased all the way, and his pursuer did not drop him until he was just off the harbor bar.

Many doubted his story, however, saying that no one would dare to chase a peaceful craft so near to a great port in broad daylight. And, again, it was urged that an auxiliary vessel could easily have overhauled the schooner between Campabello and Portland. The fact that the captain of the schooner was as often drunk as sober, and that when he was under the influence of drink he was given to seeing visions, was pointed to as conclusive proof that his yarn was a lie. After the New Bedford whaler came into port with the abandoned *St. Clare*, it was known beyond doubt that the *Kanawha* was still a real menace. But nobody cared to admit that Mogul Mackenzie was as bold as the schooner's report would imply, and hence countless arguments were put forward to allay such fears.

But a few days later the fact that the pirates were still haunting their coast was absolutely corroborated. A coastal packet from Boston arrived at Yarmouth with the news that she had not only sighted *Kanawha* in the distance, but they had crossed each other's paths so near that the name could be discerned beyond question with a spyglass. She was heading up the Bay of Fundy, and did not pause or pay any heed to the other ship.

This news brought with it consternation, and

every town and village along the Fundy was a-hum with stories and theories about the pirate ship. The interest, instead of being abated, was augmented as the days went by with no further report. In the public-houses and along the quays it was almost the only topic of conversation. The excitement became almost feverish when it was known that several captains, outward bound, had taken with them a supply of rifles and ammunition. The prospect of a fight seemed imminent.

About a week after the adventure of the Boston packet Her Majesty's ship *Buzzard* appeared off Yarmouth harbor. The news of the *Kanawha* had come to the Admiral at Halifax, and he had dispatched the warship to cruise about the troubled coast.

"That'll be the end of old Mogul Mackenzie, now that he's got an English ship on his trail," averred a Canadian as he sat drinking in the "Yarmouth Light" with a group of seafaring men of various nationalities. "It takes the British jack-tar to put the kibosh on this pirate game. One of them is worth a shipload of Yankees at the business."

"Well, don't you crow too loud now," replied a Boston skipper. "I reckon that that Nova Scotian booze-artist, who ran into Portland the other day scared of his shadow, would not do you fellows much credit."

"Yes; but what about your gunboats that have had the job of fixing the *Kanawha* for the last three

years, and haven't done it yet?" The feelings between Canada and the United States were none too good just after the Civil War, and the Canadian was bound not to lose this opportunity for horse-play. "You're a fine crowd of sea-dogs, you are, you fellows from the Boston Tea-Party. Three years after one little half-drowned rat, and haven't got him yet. Wouldn't Sir Francis Drake or Lord Nelson be proud of the record that you long-legged, slab-sided Yankees have made on the sea!"

"Shut your mouth! you blue-nosed, down-East herring-choker!" roared the Yankee skipper. "I reckon we've given you traitors that tried to stab us in the back a good enough licking; and if any more of your dirty dogs ever come nosing about down south of Mason and Dixon's Line, I bet they'll soon find out what our record is."

"Well, you fools can waste your tongue and wind," said a third man, raising his glass, "but for me here's good luck to the *Buzzard*."

"So say we all of us," chimed in the others, and the Yankee and the Canadian drank together to the success of the British ship, forgetting their petty jealousies before a common foe.

Everywhere the news of the arrival of the British warship was hailed with delight. All seemed to agree that her presence assured the speedy extermination of the pirate crew. But after several days of futile cruising about the coast, her commander, to escape from a coming storm, had to put into St.

Mary's Bay, with the object of his search still eluding his vigilance. He only arrived in time to hear the last chapter of the *Kanawha's* tale of horrors.

The night before, Dominic Lefountain, a farmer living alone at Meteighan, a little village on the French shore, had been awakened from his sleep by the moaning and wailing of a human voice. For days the imminent peril of an assault from the pirates had filled the people of the French coast with forebodings. And now, awakened thus in the dead of night, the lonely Frenchman was wellnigh paralyzed with terror. With his flesh creeping, and his eyes wide, he groped for his rifle, and waited in the darkness, while ever and anon came those unearthly cries from the beach. Nearly an hour passed before he could gather himself together sufficiently to investigate the cause of the alarm. At last, when the piteous wailing had grown weak and intermittent, the instinct of humanity mastered his fears, and he went forth to give a possible succor to the one in need.

On the beach, lying prostrate, with the water lapping about his feet, he found a man in the last stage of exhaustion. The blood was flowing from his mouth, and as Dominic turned him over to stanch its flow, he found that his tongue had been cut out, and hence the unearthly wailing which had roused him from his sleep. The beach was deserted by this time, and it was too dark to see far out into the bay.

Dominic carried the unfortunate man to his house, and nursed him there for many weeks. He survived his frightful experiences, and lived on for twenty years, a pathetic and helpless figure, supported by the big-hearted farmers and fishermen of the French shore. Evidently he had known too much for his enemies, and they had sealed his mouth forever. He became known as the "Mysterious Man of Meteighan," and his deplorable condition was always pointed to as a mute witness of the last villainy of Mogul Mackenzie.

On the night following the episode of the "Mysterious Man of Meteighan," a wild and untoward storm swept down the North Atlantic and over the seaboard far and near. In the Bay of Fundy that night the elements met in their grandest extremes. Tide-rips and mountain waves opposed each other with titanic force. All along the bleak and rock-ribbed coast the boiling waters lay churned into foam. Over the breakwaters the giant combers crashed and soared far up into the troubled sky; while out under the black clouds of the night the whirlpools and the tempests met. Was ever a night like this before? Those on shore thanked God; and those with fathers on the sea gazed out upon a darkness where no star of hope could shine.

Now and again through the Stygian gloom a torrent of sheet-lightning rolled down across the heavens, bringing in its wake a moment of terrible light. It was in one of these brief moments of il-

lumination that the wan watchers at Hall's Harbor discerned a long gray ship being swept like a specter before the winds towards the Isle of Haut. Until the flash of lightning the doomed seamen appeared to have been unconscious of their fast approaching fate; and then, as if suddenly awakened, they sent a long thin trail of light, to wind itself far up into the darkness. Again and again the rockets shot upward from her bow, while above the noises of the tempest came the roar of a gun.

The people on the shore looked at each other with blanched faces, speechless, helpless. A lifetime by that shore had taught them the utter puniness of the sons of men. Others would have tried to do something with what they thought was their strong arm. But the fishermen knew too well that the Fundy's arm was stronger. In silence they waited with bated breath while the awful moments passed. Imperturbable they stood there, with their feet in the white foam and their faces in the salt spray, and gazed at the curtain of the night, behind which a tragedy was passing, as dark and dire as any in the annals of the sea.

Another flash of lightning, and there, dashing upon the iron rocks, was a great ship, with all her sails set, and a cloud of lurid smoke trailing from her funnel. She was gray-colored, with auxiliary power, and as her lines dawned upon those who saw her in the moment of light, they burst out with one accord, "It's the *Kanawha!* It's the *Kanawha!*"

As if an answer to their sudden cry another gun roared, and another shower of rockets shot up into the sky; and then all was lost again in the darkness and the voices of the tempest.

Next morning the winds had gone out with the tide, and when in the afternoon the calm waters had risen, a boat put off from Hall's Harbor and rowed to the Isle of Haut. For several hours the rocky shores were searched for some traces of the wreck, but not a spar or splinter could be found. All about the bright waters laughed, with naught but the sunbeams on their bosom, and not a shadow remained from last night's sorrow on the sea.

So Mogul Mackenzie, who had lived a life of stress, passed out on the wings of storm. In his end, as always, he baffled pursuit, and was sought but could not be found. His sailings on the sea were in secret, and his last port in death was a mystery. But, as has been already related, when the Northern Lights come down across the haunted island, the distress signals of his pirate crew are still seen shooting up into the night.

THE LAST OF THE SEA-ROVERS

The Riff Coast Pirates *

W. B. LORD

O nay, O nay, then said our King,
O nay, this must not be,
To yield to such a rover
Myself will not agree;
He hath deceived the Frenchman,
Likewise the King of Spain,
And how can he be true to me,
That hath been false to twain?

OLD SEA SONG OF THE YEAR 1620.

PROBABLY by this time the greater part of the piratical craft along the Riff coast has been destroyed, and the long-promised Moorish gunboat stationed there to protect foreign shipping.† These steps have doubtless been hastened by the fact that the pirates, unfortunately for themselves, attacked a vessel some little time ago belonging to the Sultan of Morocco. For years past the Governments of several European Powers have sought to put friendly pressure upon the Sultan of Morocco to effectually stop the depredations of the

* From the *Nautical Magazine*.

† About twenty years ago.

Riffian coast pirates. No strong measures, however, were really taken until the above episode occurred. It is said that in early days the Moors were some time in accustoming themselves to the perils of the deep. At first they marvelled greatly at "those that go down to the sea in ships, and have their business in great waters," but they did not hasten to follow their example. One eminent ruler of ancient times, in that region, when asked what the sea was like, replied, "The sea is a huge beast which silly folk ride like worms on logs." But it afterwards became clear that the Moors had a strong fancy for the "worms" and "logs" too. They gave up marvelling at those who went to sea, and went on it themselves in search of plunder. The risk, the uncertainty, the danger, the sense of superior skill and ingenuity, that attract the adventurous spirit, and the passion for sport, are stated by some writers to have brought such a state of things into existence. One fact seems to be pretty certain, that when these depredations were first made, they took the form of reprisals upon the Spaniards. No sooner was Granada fallen, than thousands of desperate Moors left the land, disdaining to live under a Spanish yoke. Settling along a portion of the northern coast of Africa, they immediately proceeded to first attack all Spanish vessels that could be found. Their quickness and knowledge of the coasts gave them the opportunity of reprisals for which they longed. Probably this got monotonous

in course of time, for in their wild sea courses they took to harrying the vessels belonging to other nations, and so laid the foundation for a race of pirates, which has continued down to quite recently. As nowadays, the Moors cruised in boats from the commencement of their marauding expeditions. Each man pulled an oar, and knew how to fight as well as row. Drawing little water, a small squadron of these craft could be pushed up almost any creek, or lie hidden behind a rock, till the enemy came in sight. Then oars out, and a quick stroke for a few minutes. Next they were alongside their unsuspecting prey, and pouring in a first volley. Ultimately the prize was usually taken, the crew put in irons, and the pirates returned home with their capture, no doubt being received with acclamation upon their arrival.

As far back as the sixteenth century the Spanish forts at Alhucemas—not to mention other places—were established for the purpose of repressing piracy in its vicinity. Considerable interest is attached to several of the piracies committed during the past few years, as they culminated in strong representations being made to the Sultan of Morocco by the various Governments under whose flag the respective vessels sailed. Some of them went so far as to send warships to cruise along the Riffian coast. This step apparently had some moral effect upon the pirates, for from that time onwards attacks upon foreign vessels practically ceased. Something

more than this, however, was needed, for no one could say how soon the marauding expeditions might be renewed upon a larger scale than ever, so as to make up for lost opportunities. On August 14, 1897, the Italian three-masted schooner *Fiducia* was off the coast of Morocco, in the Mediterranean, homeward bound from Pensacola to Marseilles. Here she got becalmed, and while in that condition two boats approached her from the shore. At first the crew of the *Fiducia* thought they were native fishing boats. When, however, the latter got within a hundred yards or so of the helpless vessel, the suspicions of the crew were aroused. The captain warned the Moors not to approach any nearer; a volley of bullets was returned by way of reply, followed by a regular fusillade as the boats advanced. There were only three revolvers on board the schooner, and with these the crew prepared to defend themselves. Soon, however, their supply of ammunition became exhausted, and the pirates boarded the schooner without further opposition. The vessel was at once ransacked, even the clothes of the crew being taken. The ship's own boat was lowered, and into this the marauders put their booty, and took it ashore, also carrying the captain and one of the crew with them. About an hour later another boat, containing about twenty pirates, came off and fired on the ship. The crew, seeing that they could offer no effective resistance, hid themselves away in the hold. The other pirates had

left very little for the new arrivals to take, and this seemed to annoy them so much that they gave vent to their ill-feelings in several ways, not the least wanton being the pollution of the ship's fresh water. They also smashed the vessel's compass, and tore up the charts. For the next two days the crew existed on a few biscuits, which the pirates had left behind. The following day the British steamship *Oanfa*, of London, hove in sight. The crew of the schooner hoisted a shirt as a signal, which was fortunately seen, and a boat sent off in response thereto. Assistance was promptly rendered, and the *Fiducia* put in a position to resume her voyage. This was done until spoken by the Italian cruiser *Ercole*, which assisted the schooner to her destination.

In October, 1896, the French barque *Prosper Corue* was lying becalmed off Alhucemas, a place fortified by the Spaniards to keep the pirates in check, when several boats full of armed Moors seized the vessel and made the crew prisoners. They then completely pillaged the ship, removing almost everything of any use or value. While the miscreants were thus busily engaged a Spanish merchant steamship, named the *Sevilla*, happened to come along, and was in time to capture one boat and rescue several of the prisoners. The *Sevilla* then made towards the barque, but the pirates opened fire on the steamer, killing and wounding some of the crew. The Spaniard was compelled to retire, leaving the captain of the barque in the hands of the

Moors. Subsequently the barque was picked up in an abandoned condition by the British steamship *Oswin*, and towed into Almeria. An arrangement was afterwards made with the pirates to release the captains of the *Fiducia* and the Portuguese barque *Rosita Faro*—a much earlier capture—and some members of both crews, in exchange for the Riffians captured by the Spanish steamer *Sevilla* and a ransom of 3,000 dollars. It was only after prolonged negotiations and a large sum of money that a French warship succeeded in obtaining the freedom of the captain of the *Prosper Corue* and a few other Frenchmen. For some reason or other, the pirates seemed very much disinclined to part with these prisoners. Only a short time before the attack on the French barque took place, a notice was issued by the British Board of Trade, in which the attention of ship-owners and masters of vessels was called to the dangers attending navigation off the coast of Morocco. The document then proceeded to detail the case of the British schooner *Mayer*, of Gibraltar, which was boarded about 10 miles from the Riff coast by twenty Moors armed with rifles and daggers. As usual, the pirates ransacked the vessel, destroyed the ensign and ship's papers, brutally assaulted the men on board, and then made off in their boat. Scarcely had the foregoing notice been generally circulated than another case of a similar character happened in connection with the Italian schooner *Scatuola*. Again, there is the Spanish cut-

ter *Jacob*. She was running along the Moorish coast one fine summer's evening a few years since, when a boat full of pirates suddenly came alongside, and speedily upset the quietness which had previously reigned on board the *Jacob*. Five of the crew managed to escape in the cutter's boat and were picked up some days later by a passing vessel. Those who remained on board the cutter fared very badly. After the vessel had been pillaged, the rigging and sails destroyed, the men were all securely bound and left to their fate. Fortunately the weather continued fine, and the *Jacob* drifted towards the Spanish coast, where she was seen and assistance promptly rendered.

The captain of another Spanish vessel had quite a "thrilling" adventure among these pirates in May, 1892. He left Gibraltar in command of the barque *San Antonio* for Alhucemas, and when about six miles from Peñon de la Gomera a boat manned by thirteen Moors was observed to be approaching the vessel. When near enough they opened fire, and ordered the captain to lower his sails, which was done, as the Spaniards were, practically speaking, without arms. The Moors then boarded the *San Antonio* and took her in tow. When close to the land the captain was rowed ashore, and the pirates spent part of the night in unloading the cargo. Next morning the *San Antonio* was seen drifting out to sea, and the captain, who was afraid of being put to death, suggested that he should go on board and bring her

back to the anchorage. Probably thinking that some of their comrades were on the barque, but unable to set the necessary canvas to return, only two Moors were sent off with the captain, and these remained in the boat when the vessel was reached. Upon gaining the deck of the barque the captain was surprised to find himself alone. Without hesitating for a moment he released the crew, who were confined below, hoisted sail and stood out to sea. The Moors who had been left in the boat were speedily cut adrift, much to their amazement, for it so happened that none of the pirates had stayed on board. No doubt they were eager to find a safe hiding-place for their plunder, and, thinking the barque quite secure till morning, took no further heed of the matter. A few days later the *San Antonio* arrived at Gibraltar, where full particulars of the outrage were furnished to the authorities. Space will not admit of details being given of the attacks on the Spanish barque *Goleta*, the Portuguese barque *Rosita Faro*, the British felucca *Joven Enrique*, and other vessels. It should be mentioned, however, that several famous British and foreign sailing yachts upon various occasions have had remarkably narrow escapes from being captured by these sea ruffians.

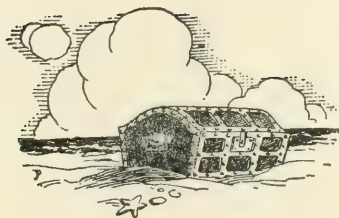
It is sincerely to be hoped that the Sultan of Morocco is carrying out his task in such a manner as will induce the inhabitants of the Riff coast to follow some occupation in future which is more likely to be appreciated by those who have to navi-

gate vessels in the Mediterranean. Previous to stern measures being taken by the Sultan, it was not at all uncommon for his envoys to the native tribes—for the purpose of obtaining the release of captives—to be received with derision. Often, too, they were maltreated to such an extent that they were glad to escape with their lives. Some of the neighboring tribes continually endeavored to purchase captives for the pleasure of killing them, but it is satisfactory to learn that no sales are recorded, as the anticipated ransom was always largely in excess of the sums offered by the bloodthirsty natives.



GREAT PIRATE STORIES

SECOND SERIES



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FOREWORD

[From "The Pirate's Own Book," printed in 1837]

IN the mind of the mariner, there is a superstitious horror connected with the name of Pirate; and there are few subjects that interest and excite the curiosity of mankind generally, more than the desperate exploits, foul doings, and diabolical career of these monsters in human form. A piratical crew is generally formed of the desperadoes and runagates of every clime and nation. The pirate, from the perilous nature of his occupation, when not cruising on the ocean, the great highway of nations, selects the most lonely isles of the sea for his retreat, or secretes himself near the shores of rivers, bays and lagoons of thickly wooded and uninhabited countries, so that if pursued he can escape to the woods and mountain glens of the interior. The islands of the Indian Ocean, and the east and west coasts of Africa, as well

as the West Indies, have been their haunts for centuries; and vessels navigating the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, are often captured by them, the passengers and crew murdered, the money and most valuable part of the cargo plundered, the vessel destroyed, thus obliterating all trace of their unhappy fate, and leaving friends and relatives to mourn their loss from the inclemencies of the elements, when they were butchered in cold blood by their fellow men, who by practically adopting the maxim that "dead men tell no tales," enable themselves to pursue their diabolical career with impunity. The pirate is truly fond of women and wine, and when not engaged in robbing, keeps maddened with intoxicating liquors, and passes his time in debauchery, singing old songs with choruses like

"Drain, drain the bowl, each fearless soul,
Let the world wag as it will;
Let the heavens growl, let the devil howl,
Drain, drain the deep bowl and fill."

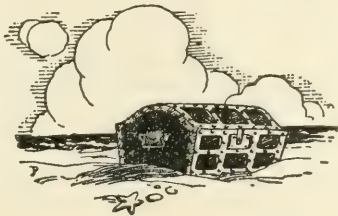
Thus his hours of relaxation are passed in wild and extravagant frolics amongst the lofty forests of palms and spicy groves of the Torrid Zone, and amidst the aromatic and beautiful flowering vegetable productions of that region. He has fruits delicious to taste, and as companions, the unsophisticated daughters of Africa and the Indies. It would be supposed that his wild career would be one of delight.

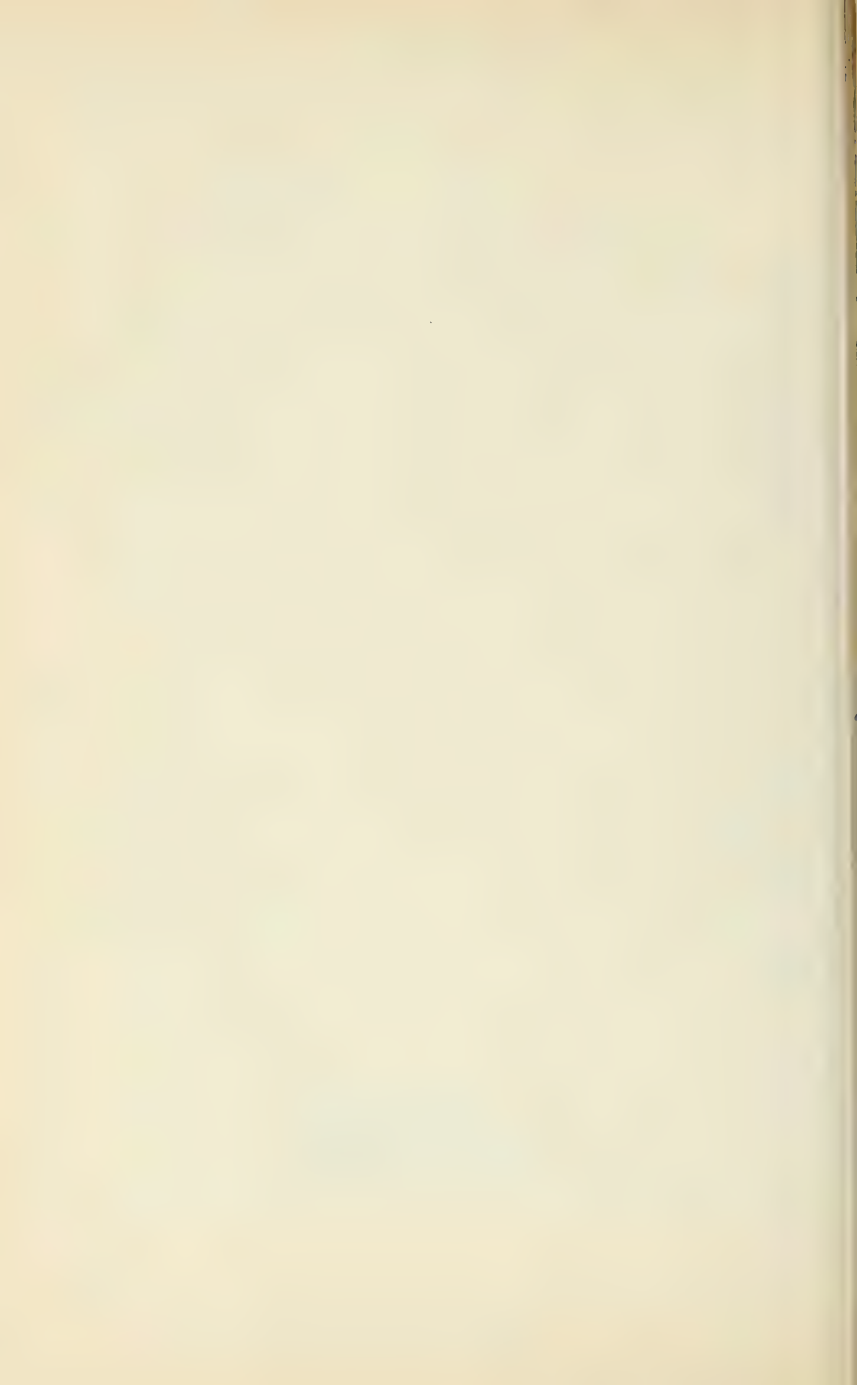
But the apprehension and foreboding of the mind, when under the influence of remorse, are powerful, and every man, whether civilized or savage, has interwoven in his constitution a moral sense, which secretly condemns him when he has committed an atrocious

action, even when he is placed in situations which raise him above the fear of human punishment, for

“Conscience, the torturer of the soul, unseen,
Does fiercely brandish a sharp scourge within;
Severe decrees may keep our tongues in awe,
But to our minds what edicts can give law?
Even you yourself to your own breast shall tell
Your crimes, and your own conscience be your hell.”

With the name of pirate is also associated ideas of rich plunder, caskets of buried jewels, chests of gold ingots, bags of outlandish coins, secreted in lonely, out of the way places, or buried about the wild shores of rivers, and unexplored sea coasts, near rocks and trees bearing mysterious marks, indicating where the treasure was hid. And as it is his invariable practice to secrete and bury his booty, and from the perilous life he leads, being often killed or captured, he can never re-visit the spot again; immense sums remain buried in those places, and are irrecoverably lost. Search is often made by persons who labor in anticipation of throwing up with their spade and pickaxe, gold bars, diamond crosses sparkling amongst the dirt, bags of golden doubloons, and chests, wedged close with moidores, ducats and pearls; but although great treasures lie hid in this way, it seldom happens that any is so recovered.





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ON THE SPANISH MAIN

[From "The History of the Pirates."]

AN ACCOUNT

Of the piracies and cruelties of John Augur, William Cunningham, Dennis Mackarthy, William Dowling, William Lewis, Thomas Morris, George Bendall, and William Ling, who were tried, condemned, and executed at Nassau, (N. P.) on Friday, the 10th of December, 1718. Also, some account of the pirates, Vane, Rackham, and others.

ABOUT the 20th of July, 1718, Mr. Woodes Rogers, Governor and Vice-Admiral of the Bahama Islands, being sent from England with the king's proclamation and pardon for all pirates who had surrendered by a time specified in the said proclamation, arrived at Providence. It was evening when the fleet came off the town of Nassau in the said island, when Richard Turnley, the pilot, did not judge it safe to venture over the bar that night, wherefore it was resolved to lay by till morning.

In the mean time, there came some men on board the fleet from off a little island, called Harbour-Island, adjacent to Providence. The advice they brought was, that there were near a thousand pirates on shore upon the island of Providence, waiting for

the king's pardon, which had been long expected. The principal part of their commanders were Benjamin Hornygold, Arthur Davis, Joseph Burgess, Thomas Carter, and they were all in or about the town of Nassau; that the fort was extremely out of repair, there being only one gun mounted, a nine pounder, and no accommodation for men, but one little hut or house, which was inhabited by an old fellow, whom the pirates, in derision, called Governor Sawney.

The fleet was seen from the harbour, as well as the town, so that Capt. Charles Vane, who had no design of surrendering, but, on the contrary, had fitted out his ship with a resolution of attempting new adventures, took the advantage of the night to contrive his escape; and though the harbour was blocked up, and his ship drew too much water to get out by the east passage, he shifted his hands, and things of most value, into a lighter vessel, and charging all the guns of the ship he quitted, with double, round and partridge, he set her on fire, imagining that some of the ships, or their boats, might be sent near him, and he might do some mischief when it should burn down to them.

Those in the fleet saw the light, and heard the guns, and fancied the pirates on shore were making bonfires, and firing guns for joy that the king's free pardon had arrived; and Capt. Whitney, commander of the *Rose* man of war, sent his boat with a lieutenant on shore, which was intercepted by Vane, who carried the crew on board and stripped them of some stores they had in the boat. He kept them till he got under

sail, which was till day-break, when there was light enough for him to see how to steer his way through the east passage; which was no sooner done but he hoisted a black flag, and fired a gun, and then let the lieutenant and boat's crew depart and join the fleet.

The fleet got safe into the harbour, and as soon as the lieutenant arrived on board, and related what had passed, the *Buck* sloop was ordered to chase Vane. She made what sail she could through the east passage after him, having a recruit of men well armed sent to her from the other ships; but being heavily laden with rich goods, Vane had the heels of her, which the commodore observing, made a signal for her to give up the chase and return, which she did accordingly.

They immediately fell to mooring and securing their ships, which took up the time till night. Next morning the governor went on shore, being received at his landing by the principal people in the government of the place, viz, Thomas Walker, Esq. Chief Justice, and Thomas Taylor, Esq, President of the Council. The pirate captains, Hornygold, Davis, Carter, Burgess, Currant, and Clark, with some others, drew up their crew in two lines, reaching from the water side to the fort, the governor and other officers marching between them. In the mean time, being under arms, they made a running fire over his head.

Having arrived at the fort, his commission was opened and read, and he was sworn in governor of the island, according to form.

The next day the governor made out a commission to Richard Turnley, the chief pilot, to Mr. Salter, a

factor, and some others, to go on board and examine all suspected ships and vessels in the harbour, to take an inventory of their several ladings, and to secure both ships and cargoes for the use of the king and company, till such time as a Court of Admiralty could be called, that they might be lawfully cleared or condemned by proving which belonged to pirates, and which to fair traders.

The day following a court-martial was held, in which a military discipline was settled, in order to prevent surprises, both from Spaniards and pirates, till such time as the fort could be repaired, and put into a condition of defence. For this purpose the governor was obliged to make use of some of the pardoned pirates, such as Hornygold, Davis, and Burgess, to whom he gave some commands: and George Fetherston, James Bonney, and Dennis Mackarthy, with some other pirates of a lower rank, acted under them as inferior officers.

Soon after, the civil government was also settled, some of the principal officers being appointed justices of the peace; others of inferior degree, constables and overseers of the ways and roads, which were overgrown with bushes and underwood, all about the town of Nassau; so that if an enemy had landed in the night, they might lie in ambuscade in those covers, and surprise the town; wherefore, several of the common pirates were employed in clearing them away.

The governor, with some soldiers, guarded the fort, and the inhabitants, who were formed into trained bands, took care of the town; but as there was no sort of accommodation to lodge such a number of

people, they were forced to unbend the sails, and bring them on shore, in order to make tents, till they had time to build houses, which was done with all possible expedition, by a kind of architecture altogether new.

Those that were built in the fort were done by making six little holes in the rock, at convenient distances, in each of which was stuck a forked pole; on these, from one to the other, were placed cross poles or rafters, which being lathed at top, and on the sides, with small sticks, were afterwards covered with Palmata leaves, and then the house was finished; for they did not much trouble themselves about the ornaments of doors and windows.

In the mean time the repairs of the fort were carried on, and the streets were ordered to be kept clean, both for health and convenience, so that it began to have the appearance of a civilized place. A proclamation was published for the encouragement of all such persons as should be willing to settle upon the island of Providence, by which every person was to have a lot of ground of a hundred and twenty feet square, any where in or about the town of Nassau, that was not before in the possession of others, provided they should clear said ground, and build a house tenantable, by a certain time therein limited, which might be easily done, as they might have timber for nothing. This had the effect proposed, and a great many immediately fell to work, to comply with the conditions, in order to settle themselves there.

Many of the pirates were employed in the woods in cutting down sticks to make palisadoes; and all the

people belonging to the ships, officers excepted, were obliged to work four days in the week on the fortifications, so that in a short time a weak entrenchment was rendered tolerably strong.

But it did not much suit the inclinations of the pirates to be set to work; and though they had provision sufficient, and had also a good allowance of wine and brandy to each man, yet they began to have such a hankering after their old trade, that many of them took opportunities of seizing periaguas, and other boats, in the night, and making their escape, so that in a few months, there was not many of them left.

However, when the Spanish war was proclaimed, several of them returned back again of their own accord, tempted with the hopes of being employed upon the privateering account, for that place lying near the coast of Spanish America, and also not far from the Gulf of Florida, seemed to be a good station for intercepting the Spanish vessels going to old Spain.

They were not mistaken in this supposition; for the governor according to the power vested in him, did grant commissions for privateering, and made choice of some of the principal pirates who had continued upon the island, in obedience to the pardon, for commanders, as being persons well qualified for such employments, who made up their crews chiefly of their scattered companions, who were newly returned upon the hopes of preferment.

About this time a fishing vessel, belonging to the island of Providence, brought in the master of a ship and a few sailors, whom she had picked up at sea

in a canoe. The said master was called Captain King, who sailed in a ship called the *Neptune*, belonging to South-Carolina, laden with rice, pitch, tar, and other merchandise, bound for London.

The account he gave of himself was, that he was met with by Charles Vane, the pirate, who carried him into Green Turtle Bay, one of the Bahama islands, by whom he was plundered of a great part of his cargo, which, consisting chiefly of stores, was of great use to them; that afterwards they cut away part of one of the masts of the ship, and fired a gun down her hold, with intent to sink her; that they took some of his men into their service, and when they were sailing off, gave him and the rest a canoe to save themselves; that with this canoe they made shift to sail from one little island to another, till they had the good luck to meet the fishing boat which took them up; and that he believed Charles Vane might still be cruising thereabouts.

Upon this intelligence, the governor fitted out a ship which was named the *Willing Mind*, manned with 50 stout hands, well armed, and also a sloop with 30 hands, which he sent to cruise among those islands, in search of Vane, the pirate, giving them orders also to endeavour to recover the ship *Neptune*, which Capt. King told them had still goods of considerable value left in her.

They went out accordingly, but never saw Vane. However, they found the *Neptune*, which was not sunk as the pirates intended; for the ball they fired into her stuck in the ballast, without passing through. They returned with her about the 10th of November;

but an unlucky accident happened to the *Willing Mind*, occasioned either by the ignorance or carelessness of the pilot, which bilged in going over the bar.

In the mean time Vane made towards the coast of Hispaniola, living riotously on board, having an abundance of liquor, and plenty of fresh provisions, such as hogs, goats, sheep, and fowl, which he got upon easy terms; for touching at a place called Isleathera, he plundered the inhabitants of as much of their provision as they could carry away. Here they cruised to about February, when, near the windward passage of Cape Mase, they met with a large ship of London, called the *Kingston*, laden with bale goods, and other rich merchandise, and having several passengers on board, some English, and some Jews, besides two women.

Towards the north end of Jamaica, they also met with a turtle sloop, bound in for that island, on board of which (after having first plundered her) they put the captain of the *Kingston*, some of his men, and all the passengers except the two women, whom they detained, contrary to their usual practice.

The *Kingston* they kept for their own use; for now their company being strengthened by a great many recruits, some volunteers and some forced men out of the *Neptune* and *Kingston*, they thought they had hands enough for two ships. Accordingly they shifted several of their hands on board the *Kingston*, and John Rackham, alias Calico Jack, (so called, because his jackets and drawers were always made of calico) quarter-master to Vane, was unanimously chosen captain of the *Kingston*.

The empire of these pirates had not been long thus divided before they had like to have fallen into a civil war among themselves, which must have ended in the destruction of one of them. The fatal occasion of the difference between these two brother adventurers, was this. It happened that Vane's liquor was all out, who sending to his brother captain for a supply, Rackham accordingly spared him what he thought fit; but it falling short of Vane's expectation, as to quantity, he went on board of Rackham's ship to expostulate with him, so that words arising, Rackham threatened to shoot him through the head, if he did not immediately return to his own ship; and told him likewise, that if he did not sheer off, and part company, he would sink him. Vane thought it best to take his advice, for he thought the other was bold enough to be as good as his word, for he had it in his power to be so, his ship being the largest and strongest of the two. Accordingly they parted, and Rackham made for the island of Princes, and having great quantities of rich goods on board, taken in the late prizes, they were divided into lots, and he and his crew shared them by throwing dice, the highest cast being to choose first. When they had done, they packed up their goods in casks, and buried them on shore in the island of Princes, that they might have room for fresh booty. In the mean time it happening that a turtle sloop, belonging to Jamaica, came in there, Rackham sent his boat and brought the master on board of him, and asking him several questions, the master informed him that war with Spain had been proclaimed in Jamaica; and that the time appointed

by the general pardon for pirates to surrender, in order to receive the benefit thereof, had not expired.

Upon this intelligence Rackham and his crew suddenly changed their minds, and were resolved to take the benefit of the pardon by a speedy surrender; wherefore, instead of using the master ill, as the poor man expected, they made him several presents, desiring him to sail back to Jamaica, and acquaint the governor they were willing to surrender, provided he would give his word and honour they should have the benefit of the pardon; which, extensive as it was, they apprehended they were not entitled to, because they had run away in defiance of it at Providence. They desired the master also to return with the governor's answer, assuring him he should be no loser by the voyage.

The master very willingly undertook the commission, and arriving at Jamaica, delivered his message to the governor, according to his instructions; but it happened that the master of the *Kingston*, with his passengers, having arrived at Jamaica, had acquainted the governor with the piracies of Vane and Rackham, before the turtler got thither, who was actually fitting out two sloops, which were now just ready, in pursuit of them, so that the governor was very glad to discover by the turtler's message where Rackham was to be found.

The two sloops, well manned, accordingly sailed out, and found Rackham in the station where the turtler had described him, altogether in disorder, and quite unprepared, either for sailing or fighting, most of his sails being on shore, erected into tents, and

his decks lumbered with goods. He happened to be on board himself, though most of his men were ashore, and seeing the two sloops at a distance, bearing towards him, he observed them with his glass, and fancied he saw on board something like preparations for fighting. This was what he did not expect, for he looked for no enemy, and while he was in doubt and suspense about them, they came so near that they began to fire.

He had neither time nor means to prepare for defence, so that there was nothing to be done but to run into his boat, and escape to the shore, which he did accordingly with the few hands he had with him, leaving the two women on board to be taken by the enemy.

The sloops seized the *Kingston*, manned her, and brought her into Jamaica, having still a great part of her cargo left. When she arrived, the master of her fell to examining what part of the cargo was lost and what left; he searched also for his bills of lading and cockets, but they were all destroyed by Rackham; so that the ship being freighted by several owners, the master could not tell whose property was saved, and whose lost, till he had fresh bills of parcels of each owner from England. There was one remarkable piece of good luck which happened in this affair; there were, amongst other goods, sixty gold watches on board, and thirty of silver; the pirates divided the silver watches, but the gold being packed up amongst some bale goods, were never discovered by them, and the master, in searching, found them all safe.'

In the mean time, Rackham and his crew lived in the woods, in very great suspense what to do with themselves. They had with them ammunition and small arms, and also some of the goods, such as bales of silk stockings, and laced hats, with which it is supposed, they intended to make themselves fine. They had also two boats and a canoe.

Being divided in their resolutions, Rackham, with six more, determined to take one of the boats, and make the best of their way for the island of Providence, and there claim the benefit of the king's pardon, which they fancied they might be entitled to, by representing, that they were carried away by Vane, against their wills. Accordingly they put some arms, ammunition, and provision, into the best boat, and also some of the goods, and set sail. They first made the Island of Pines, from thence got over to the north side of Cuba, where they destroyed several Spanish boats and launches; one they took, which being a stout sea boat, they shifted themselves and their cargo into her, sunk their own, and then stretched over to the island of Providence, where they landed safely about the middle of May, 1719, where demanding the king's pardon, the governor thought fit to allow it them, and certificates were granted to them accordingly.

Here they sold their goods, and spent the money merrily. When all was gone, some engaged themselves in privateers, and others in trading vessels. But Rackham, as captain, having a much larger share than any of the rest, his money held out a little longer; but happening about this time to form a criminal

acquaintance with one Ann Bonny, a married woman, he became very extravagant, and found it necessary, to avoid detection and punishment, to abscond with his mistress.

For this purpose they plotted together to seize a sloop which then lay in the harbour, and Rackham drew some brisk young fellows into the conspiracy. They were of the number of the pirates lately pardoned, and who, he knew, were weary of working on shore, and longed to be again at their old trade.

The sloop they made choice of was between 30 and 40 tons, and one of the swiftest sailers that ever was built of that kind. She belonged to one John Haman, who lived upon a little island not far from Providence, which was inhabited by no human creature except himself and his family. His livelihood and constant employment was to plunder and pillage the Spaniards, whose sloops and launches he had often surprised about Cuba and Hispaniola, and sometimes brought off a considerable booty, always escaping by a good pair of heels, insomuch that it became a byeword to say, *there goes John Haman, catch him if you can*. His business to Providence now, was to bring his family there, in order to live and settle, being weary, perhaps, of living in that solitude, or else, apprehensive, if any of the Spaniards should discover his habitation, they might land, and be revenged on him for all his pranks.

Ann Bonny was observed to go several times on board this sloop. She pretended to have some business with John Haman, but always went when he was on shore, for her true errand was to discover

how many hands were on board, and what kind of watch they kept, and to know the passages and ways of the vessel.

She discovered as much as was necessary. She found there were but two hands on board, and that John Haman slept on shore every night. She inquired of them whether they watched; where they lay; and many other questions; to all which they readily answered her, as thinking she had no design but common curiosity.

She acquainted Rackham with every particular who resolved to lose no time, and therefore, acquainting his associates, who were eight in number, they appointed an hour for meeting at night, which was 12 o'clock. They were all true to the roguery, and Ann Bonny was as punctual as the most resolute, and being all well armed, they took a boat and rowed to the sloop, which was very near the shore.

The night seemed to favour the attempt, for it was both dark and rainy. As soon as they got on board, Ann Bonny, having a drawn sword in one hand, and a pistol in the other, attended by one of the men, went straight to the cabin where the two fellows lay who belonged to the sloop. The noise awaked them, which she observing, declared that if they pretended to resist, or make a noise, she would blow their brains out.

In the mean time, Rackham and the rest were busy heaving in the cables, one of which they soon got up, and for expedition sake, they slipped the other, and so drove down the harbour. They passed pretty near the fort, which hailed them, as did also the guard-ship,

asking them where they were going? They answered, their cable had parted, and that they had nothing but a grappling on board, which would not hold them; immediately after which they set a small sail just to give them steerage way. When they came to the harbour's mouth, and thought they could not be seen by any of the ships, on account of the darkness of the night, they hoisted all the sail they had, and stood to sea; then calling up the two men, they asked them if they would be of their party; but finding them not inclined, they gave them a boat to row themselves ashore, ordering them to give their service to Haman, and tell him they would send him his sloop again when they had done with her.

Rackham and his paramour both bore a great spleen to Richard Turnley, who was gone from Providence, turtling, before they made their escape, and they knowing what island he was upon, made to the place. They saw the sloop about a league from the shore, and went on board with six hands; but Turnley, with his boy, by good luck, happened to be ashore salting some wild hogs they had killed the day before. They inquired for him, and hearing where he was, rowed ashore in search of him.

Turnley, from the land, saw the sloop boarded, and observed the men afterwards making for the shore, and being apprehensive of pirates, which were very common in those parts, he, with his boy, fled into a neighbouring wood. The surf being very great, so that they could not bring their boat to shore, they waded up to the arm-pits, and Turnley, peeping through the trees, saw them bring arms on shore. Upon the

whole, not liking their appearance, he, with his boy, lay snug in the bushes.

When they had looked about and could not see him, they called him aloud by name; but he not appearing, they thought it time lost to look for him in such a wilderness, and therefore returned to their boat, but rowed again back to the sloop, and took away the sails, and several other things. They also carried away with them three of the hands, viz. Richard Connor, the mate, John Davis, and John Howel, but rejected David Soward, the fourth hand, though he had been an old and experienced pirate, because he was lame, and disabled by a wound he had formerly received.

When they had done thus much, they cut away the mast, and towing the vessel into deep water, sunk her, having first put David Soward into a boat to shift for himself. He, however, got ashore, and after some time, found Turnley.

From thence, Rackham stretched over to the Bury Islands, plundering all the sloops he met, and strengthening his company with several additional hands, and so went on till he was finally taken and executed at Port Royal, Jamaica.

About this time, the governor, in conjunction with some factors then residing at Providence, thought fit to freight some vessels for a trading voyage. Accordingly the *Bachelor's Adventure*, a schooner, Capt. Henry White, commander; the *Lancaster*, sloop, Capt. William Greenway, commander; the *May*, sloop, Capt. John Augur, commander, of which last David Soward was owner, (she having been given him by

some pirates his former associates) in which he also sailed this voyage, were fitted out with a cargo of goods and merchandise, bound for Port Prince, on the island of Cuba.

The governor thought it advisable, for the benefit of the inhabitants of Providence, to settle a correspondence with some merchants of Port Prince, first, in order to procure fresh provisions, there being scarce any upon the island at the governor's first arrival; and there being at Port Prince great plenty of cows and hogs, he proposed to get a sufficient number of each, to stock the island for breed, that the people for the future might have fresh provision of their own.

They set sail on Sunday, the 5th of October, 1718. The next day they arrived at an island known by the name of Green Key, lying S. S. E. from Providence, in lat. 28 deg. 40 m. being distant about 25 leagues. Here they cast anchor, in order to wait for morning to carry them through some rocks and shoals which lay in their way, and some hands went ashore to try to kill something for supper before it should be dark. They expected to meet some wild hogs, for some time before, one Joseph Bay and one Sims, put two sows and a boar on said island; for they living at that time at Providence, and being continually visited by pirates, were always plundered of their fresh provisions, wherefore they thought of settling a breed upon Green Key, that they might have recourse to in time of necessity.

This island is about nine miles in circumference, and about three miles broad in the widest place. It

is overgrown with wild cabbage and *Palmata* trees, and has a great variety of other herbs and fruits, so that there is plenty of food for the nourishment of such animals; but the trees growing so close together, makes it bad hunting, and they killed but one hog, which, however, was of a monstrous size.

The hunters returned on board their ships again before seven, having first divided the hog, and sent part on board each vessel for supper that night. After supper, Capt. Greenway and Capt. White came on board of Capt. Augur's sloop, in order to consult together what time to sail, and being all of opinion that if they weighed anchor between the hours of 10 and 11, it would be day before they would come up with the shoals, they agreed upon that hour for setting sail, and so returned to their own vessels.

Soon after, Phinehas Bunch, and Dennis Mackarthy, with a great many others, came from White's sloop, on board of Augur's. Their pretence was, that they came to see Richard Turnley and Mr. James Carr, who had formerly been a midshipman in the *Rose* man of war, under Capt. Whitney, and being a great favourite of Governor Rogers, he had appointed him supercargo of this voyage. They desired to be treated with a bottle of beer, for they knew Mr. Carr had some that was very good in his care, which had been put on board, in order to make presents of, and to treat the Spanish merchants with.

As it was not suspected they had any thing else in view, Mr. Carr readily went down, and brought up a couple of bottles of beer. They sat upon the

poop with Capt. Augur in their company, and were drinking their beer; before the second bottle was out, Bunch and Mackarthy began to rattle, talk with great pleasure, and much boasting of their former exploits when they had been pirates, crying up a pirate's life to be the only life for a man of any spirit. While they were running on in this manner, Bunch on a sudden started up, and swore he would be captain of that vessel. Augur answered him the vessel did not want a captain, for he was able to command her himself, which seemed to put an end to the discourse for that time.

Soon after Bunch began to tell what bright arms they had on board their sloop; upon which, one of Augur's men handed up some of their cutlasses which had been cleaned that day. Among them was Mr. Carr's silver-hilted sword. Bunch seemed to admire the sword, and asked whose it was? Mr. Carr made answer, it belonged to him. Bunch replied it was a very handsome one, and drawing it out, marched about the poop, flourishing it over his head, and telling Mr. Carr he would return it to him when he had done with it. At the same time he began to vapour again, and to boast of his former piracies, and coming near Mr. Carr, struck him with the sword. Turnley bid him take care what he did, for Mr. Carr would not take such usage. As they were disputing upon this matter, Dennis Mackarthy stole off, and, with some of his associates, seized upon the great cabin, where all the arms lay. At the same time several of the men began to sing a song with these words *Did you not promise me, that you would marry me—*

which it seems was the signal agreed upon among the conspirators for seizing the ship. Bunch no sooner heard them, but he cried out aloud, *that I will, for I am parson*, and struck Mr. Carr again several blows with his own sword. Mr. Carr and Turnley both seized him, and they began to struggle, when Dennis Mackarthy, with several others, returned from the cabin with each a cutlass in one hand, and a loaded pistol in the other, and running up to them, said, *What! do the governor's dogs offer to resist?* And beating Turnley and Carr with their cutlasses, threatened to shoot them, at the same time firing their pistols close to their cheeks, upon which Turnley and Carr begged their lives.

When they were thus in possession of the vessel, they hailed Capt. Greenway, and desired him to come on board about urgent business. He, knowing nothing of what had passed, jumped into his boat, and with two hands only, rowed on board. Dennis Mackarthy led him into the cabin, and, as soon as he was there, laid hold of him, telling him he was now a prisoner, and must submit. He offered to make some resistance; upon which, they told him all resistance would be vain, for his own men were in the plot; and, indeed, seeing the two hands who rowed him aboard, now armed, and joining with the conspirators, he thought it was time to submit.

As soon as this was done, they sent some hands on board to seize the sloop, or rather to acquaint his men with what had been done, for they expected to meet with no resistance, many of them being in the plot, and the rest, they supposed, not very averse

to it; after which, they decoyed Captain White on board, by the same stratagem they used with Greenway, and likewise sent on board his sloop, and found his men, one and all, well disposed for the design; and what was most remarkable was, that Captain Augur, seeing how things were going, joined with them, showing himself as well inclined for pirating as the worst of them.

Thus they made themselves masters of the three vessels with very little trouble. The next thing to be done was to resolve how to dispose of those who were not of their party. Some were for killing Richard Turnley, but the majority carried it for marooning, that he might be starved, and die like a dog, as they called it. Their great spleen to him was, because he was the person who had piloted the governor into Providence.

Accordingly, Turnley, with John Carr, Thomas Rich, and some others, were stripped naked, and tumbled over the vessel's side into a boat which lay along side. The oars were all taken out, and they left them nothing to work themselves ashore with but an old paddle, which, at other times, served to steer the boat, and so they commanded them to be gone. However, they made shift to get safe ashore on the island, which, as we observed before, was quite uninhabited.

The next morning Dennis Mackarthy, with several others, went on shore, and told them they must come on board again, and they would give them some clothes to put on. They fancied the pirates began to repent of the hard usage they had given them, and

were willing to return upon such an errand; but when they got on board again, they found their opinion of the pirates' good nature was very ill grounded, for they began with beating them, and did it as if it were sport, one having a boatswain's pipe, the rest beating them till he piped *belay*.

The true design of bringing them on board again, was to make them discover where some things lay, which they could not readily find, particularly Mr. Carr's watch and silver snuff-box; but he was soon obliged to inform them in what corner of the cabin they were, and there they were found, with some journals and other books, which they knew how to make no other use of than turning them into cartridges. Then they began to question Thomas Rich about a gold watch which had once been seen in his possession on shore at Providence; but he protested that it belonged to Capt. Gale, who was commander of the guard-ship called the *Delicia*, to which he then belonged; but his protestations would have availed him little, had it not been that some on board, who belonged also to the *Delicia*, knew it to be true, which put an end to his beating; and so they were all discharged from their punishment for the present.

Some time after, fancying the pirates to be in better humour, they begged for something to eat, for they had none of them had any nourishment that day or the night before; but all the answer they received was, that such dogs should not ask such questions. In the mean time, some of the pirates were very busy endeavouring to persuade Captain Greenway to engage with them, for they knew him to be an excellent artist;

but he was obstinate and would not. Then it was proposed to maroon him, which was opposed by some, because he was a Bermudian, meaning, that he might perhaps swim away, or swim on board his vessel again, for the Bermudians are all excellent swimmers; but as he represented, that he could not hurt them by his swimming, he obtained the favour for himself and the other officers, to be set ashore with Turnley, Carr, and Rich. Accordingly, they were put into the same boat without oars, to the number of eight, and were ordered to make the best of their way on shore.

The pirates, the next day, having examined all their vessels, and finding that Greenway's sloop was not fit for their purpose, shifted everything out of her. Those that were sent on shore could see from thence what they were doing, and when they saw them row off, Greenway swam on board the sloop, it is likely, to see whether they had left anything behind them. They perceived him, and fancied he repented refusing to join with them, and had come to do it now; wherefore some of them returned back to the sloop, to speak to him, but they found him of the same opinion he was in before. However, he wheedled them into so much good humour that they told him he might have his sloop again, in which, indeed, they had left nothing except an old main-sail, an old fore-sail, four small pieces of Irish beef, in an old beef barrel, and about twenty biscuits, with a broken bucket which was used to draw water in, telling him that he and the rest must not go on board till they had sailed.

Greenway swam ashore again to give notice to his

brothers in distress, of what had passed. The same afternoon Bunch with several others went on shore, carrying with them six bottles of wine and some biscuits. Whether this was done to tempt Greenway again, or no, is hard to say; for though they talked to him a great deal, they drank all the wine themselves to the last bottle, and then gave each of the poor creatures a glass a-piece, with a bit of biscuit, and immediately after fell to beating them, and so went on board.

While they were on shore, there came in a turtler which belonged to one Thomas Bennet, of Providence, wherof one Benjamin Hutchins was master. They soon laid hold of her, for she sailed excellently well. Hutchins was reputed an extraordinary good pilot among those islands; wherefore they tempted him to engage with them; at first he refused, but rather than be marooned, he afterwards consented.

It was now the 9th of October, and they were just preparing to sail, when they sent on shore, ordering the *condemned malefactors* to come on board Greenway's sloop, the *Lancaster*. They did so in the little boat they went on shore in, by the help of the same paddle. They found several of the pirates there, who told them that they gave them that sloop to return to Providence, though they let them have no more stores, than what were named before. They bade them take the foresail, and bend it for a jib, and furl it close down to the bowsprit, and to furl the main-sail close up to the boom. They did as they were ordered, for they knew there was no disputing whether it was right or wrong.

Soon after, another detachment came on board, among whom were Bunch and Dennis Mackarthy, who being either mad or drunk, fell upon them, beating them, and cutting the rigging and sails to pieces with their cutlasses, and commanding them not to sail, till they should hear from them again, threatening if they did, they would put them all to death, if ever they met them again; and so they went off, carrying with them the boat, which they sent them first ashore in, and sailed away.

They left them in this miserable condition, without tackle to go their voyage, and without a boat to get on shore, and having nothing in view but to perish for want; but as self preservation put them upon exerting themselves, in order to get out of this deplorable state, they began to rummage and search the vessel through every hole and corner, to see if nothing was left which might be of use to them; and it happened by chance that they found an old hatchet, with which they cut some sticks sharp to serve for marling-spikes. They also cut out several other things, to serve instead of such tools as are absolutely necessary on board a ship.

When they had proceeded thus far, every man began to work as hard as he could; they cut a piece of cable, which they strung into rope yarns, and fell to mending their sails with all possible expedition; they also made a kind of fishing lines of rope yarns, and bent some nails crooked to serve for hooks; but as they were destitute of a boat, as well for the use of fishing as for going on shore, they resolved to make a bark log, that is, to lay two or three logs

together, and lash them close, upon which two or three men may sit very safely in smooth water.

As soon as this was done, some hands went on shore, upon one of the logs (for they made two of them) who employed themselves in cutting wild cabbage, gathering berries, and a fruit which the seamen call prickly pears, for food, while some others went a fishing upon another. Those who went ashore also carried the old bucket with them, so that whilst some were busy in gathering things to serve for provision, one hand was constantly employed in bringing fresh water aboard in the bucket, which was tedious work, considering how little could be brought at a time, and that the sloop lay near a mile from the shore.

When they had employed themselves thus, for about four or five days, they brought their sails and tackle into such order, having also a little water, cabbage and other things on board, that they thought it was time to venture to sail. Accordingly they weighed their anchor, and setting all the sail they had, got out to the harbour's mouth, when to their great terror and surprise, they saw the pirates coming in again.

They were much frightened at this unexpected return, because of the threatenings they had used to them at parting, not to sail without further orders; wherefore, they tacked about, and ran as close in to the shore as they could, then throwing out their bark logs, they all put themselves upon them, and made to land, as fast as they could; but before they quite reached it, the pirates got so near that they fired at them, but were too far to do execution. However,

they pursued them ashore; the unhappy exiles immediately took to the woods, and for greater security climbed up some trees, whose branches were very thick, and by that means concealed themselves. The pirates not finding them, soon returned to their boat, and rowed on board the deserted sloop, whose mast and bowsprit they cut away, and towing into deep water, sunk her; after which, they made again for shore, thinking that the fugitives would have been out of their lurking holes, and that they should surprise them; but they continued still on the tops of the trees and saw all that passed, and therefore thought it safest to keep their posts.

The pirates not finding them, returned to their vessels, and weighing their anchors, set sail, steering eastward. In the mean time, the poor fellows were in despair, for seeing their vessel sunk, they had scarce any hopes left of escaping the danger of perishing upon that uninhabited island, where they lived eight days, feeding upon berries, and shell-fish, such as cockles and perriwinkles, sometimes catching a stingrey, a fish resembling mead or thornback, which coming into shoal water, they could wade near them, and by the help of a stick sharpened at the end, which they did by rubbing it against the rocks, (for they had not a knife left among them) they stuck them as if it had been with a spear.

It must be observed, that they had no means of striking a fire, and therefore their way of dressing this fish was, by dipping it in salt water, then laying it in the sun, till it became both hard and dry, and then they ate it.

After passing eight days in this manner, the pirates returned, and saw the poor fugitives ashore, who according to custom made to the woods; but their hearts began to relent towards them, and sending ashore, they ordered a man to go into the woods single, to call out to them, and promise them upon their honour, if they would appear, that they would give them victuals and drink, and not use them ill any more.

These promises, and the hunger which pinched them, tempted them to come forth, and accordingly they went on board, and they were as good as their word, for they gave them as much beef and biscuit as they could eat, during two or three days they were on board, but would not give them a bit to carry on shore.

There was on board one George Redding, an inhabitant of Providence, who was taken out of the turtle sloop, and who was a forced man. Being an acquaintance of Richard Turnley, and knowing that he was resolved to go ashore again, rather than engage with the pirates, and hearing him say, that they could find food to keep them alive, if they had but fire to dress it, privately gave him a tinder box, with materials in it for striking fire, which, in his circumstances, was a greater present than gold or jewels. Soon after, the pirates put the question to them, whether they would engage, or be put ashore? And they all agreed upon the latter: upon which a debate arose among the pirates, whether they should comply with their request or not; and at length it was agreed, that Greenway and the other two masters should be kept whether they would or no; and the rest, being

five in number, should, as the pirates expressed it, have a second refreshment on the varieties of the island.

Accordingly Richard Turnley, James Carr, Thomas Rich, John Cox, and John Taylor, were a second time marooned, and the pirates, as soon as they landed them, sailed off, steering eastward, till they came to an island called Pudden Point, near Long-Island, in lat. 24 degrees, where they cleaned their vessels.

In the mean time, Turnley and his companions made a much better shift than they had done before, his friend Redding's present being of infinite use to them, for they constantly kept a good fire, with which they broiled their fish. There were plenty of land crabs and snakes on the island, which they could eat when they were dressed. Thus they passed fourteen days; at the end of which the pirates made them another visit, and they according to custom made for the woods, thinking that the reason of their return must be, in order to force them to serve amongst them. But here they were mistaken, for the anger of these fellows being over, they began to pity them; but going ashore, and not finding them, they knew they were hid for fear. Nevertheless, they left upon the shore, where they knew they would come, some stores which they intended in this fit of good humour to present them with.

The poor islanders had got to their retreat, the tops of the trees, and saw the pirates go off; upon which they ventured down, and going to the water side, were agreeably surprised to find a small cask of flour, of between twenty and thirty pounds, about a bushel of salt, two bottles of gun powder, several bullets, besides

a quantity of small shot, with a couple of muskets, a very good axe, and also a pot and a pan, and three dogs, which they took in the turtle sloop; which dogs are bred to hunting, and generally the sloops which go turtling, carry some of them, as they are very useful in tracing out the wild hogs. Besides all these, there were a dozen horn handled knives, of the sort which are usually carried to Guinea.

They carried all things into the woods, to that part where they had their fresh water, and where they usually kept, and immediately went to work with their axe; some cutting down bows, and making poles, so that four of them were employed in building a hut, while Richard Turnley taking the dogs and a gun, went a hunting, he understanding that sport very well. He had not been gone long before he killed a large boar, which he brought home to his companions, who fell to cutting it up, and some they dressed for their dinner, and the rest they salted, for another time.

Thus they lived, as they thought, very happy in respect to their former condition; but after a few days, the pirates made them another visit, for they wanted to fill some casks with water. It happened when they came in that Turnley was gone a hunting, and the rest all busy at work, so that they did not see them, till they came into the wood up on them. Seeing the hut, one of them in wantonness set it on fire, and it was burnt to the ground; and they appeared inclined to do mischief, when Richard Turnley, knowing nothing of the matter, happened to return from hunting, with a fine hog upon his back, as much as he could carry. He was immediately surrounded by the pirates,

who seized upon the fresh meat, which seemed to put them into better humour. They made Richard Cox carry it down to their boat, and when he had done, they gave him a bottle of rum to carry back to his companions to drink their healths, telling him, that they might get home if they could, or if they stayed there, they would never trouble them any more.

They were, indeed as good as their word, for sailing away immediately, they made for Long-Island, and coming up toward the salt ponds there, they saw at a distance in the harbour, three vessels at an anchor, and supposing them to be either Bermuda or New-York sloops, lying there to take in salt, they bore down upon them with all the sail they could make, expecting a good booty. The turtle sloop taken from Benjamin Hutchins, was by much the best sailer; however, it was almost dark before she came up with them, and then coming close along side of one of them, she gave a broadside, with a design to board the next minute, but received such a volley of small shot in return, as killed and wounded a great many of the pirates, and the rest, in great surprise and fright, jumped overboard, to save themselves by swimming ashore.

The truth is, these sloops proved to be Spanish privateers, who observing the pirates to bear down upon them, prepared themselves for action. The commander in chief of these three privateers was one who was called by the name of Turn Joe, because he had once privateered on the English side. He had also been a pirate, and now acted by virtue of a commission from a Spanish governor. He was by birth

an Irishman, a bold enterprising fellow, and was afterwards killed in an engagement with one John Bonnavée, captain of a privateer belonging to Jamaica.

But to return to our story. The sloop was taken, and on board her was found, desperately wounded, Phineas Bunch, who was the captain. By and by a second of the pirate sloops came up; she heard the volley, and supposed it to be fired by Bunch, when he boarded one of the sloops; she came also along side of one of the Spaniards, and received the welcome that was given to Bunch, and submitted as soon. A little after, came up the third, which was taken with the same ease, and in the same manner, as many of the pirates as could swim, jumping overboard to save themselves on shore, there not being a man lost on the side of the Spaniards.

The next day Turn Joe asked them many questions, and finding out that several amongst them had been forced men, he with the consent of the other Spanish officers, ordered all the goods to be taken out of a Spanish launch, and putting some of the wounded pirates into the said launch, with some provision, water, and other liquors, gave it to the forced men, to carry them to Providence.

Accordingly George Redding, Thomas Betty, Matthew Betty, and Benjamin Hutchins, with some others, set sail, and in eight-and-forty hours arrived in the harbour of Providence. They went on shore immediately, and acquainted the governor with every thing that had passed, from the time of their setting out; informing him, that Phineas Bunch, who was one of the chief authors of all the mischief, was on board

the launch. The governor, with some others, went and examined him, and he confessed all, wherefore there was no occasion for a trial; and as he had been pardoned before, and it was necessary to make some speedy example, it was resolved that he should be executed the next day, but it was prevented by his dying that night of his wounds.

They also informed the governor of the condition of Turnley, Carr, and the rest, who were marooned by the pirates upon Green Key Island; upon which the governor sent for one John Sims, a mulatto man, who had a two-mast boat in the harbour of Providence, very fit for sailing; and putting some provisions into her, ordered him to get five or six hands, and to sail for Green Key, in order to bring off the five men there marooned.

Sims accordingly made the best of his way, and sailing out in the morning, arrived at Green Key the next day towards evening. The poor people on shore saw them, and supposing them to be some of the pirates returned, thought it best to take to the woods and hide, not knowing what humour they might be in now. Sims and his ship-mates carried some provision on shore, not knowing but they might want, and searched about, calling out to them by their names. After wandering about some time, they came to the place where the fire was constantly kept; on perceiving which, they fancied they must be thereabouts, and that it would be best to wait for them there, and accordingly they sat down, laying the provisions near them. Turnley, who had climbed to the top of a tree just by, saw them, and observed their motions, and

fancied they were no enemies who were bringing them provisions, and looking more earnestly, he knew Sims, the mulatto, whom he was very well acquainted with at Providence; upon which he called him, who desired him to come down, telling him the comfortable news, that he was come to the relief of him and his companions. Turnley made what haste he could to the bottom, and as soon as he was down, summoned his comrades, who had climbed to the top of some neighbouring trees, being in haste to communicate the glad tidings to them. Being all together, the mulatto related to them the history of what had happened to the pirates.

That night they supped comfortably together upon the provision brought ashore; but so strange an effect has joy, that scarce one of them slept a wink that night, as they declared. The next day they agreed to go a hunting, in order to get something fresh to carry off with them, and were so successful, that they killed three fine hogs. When they returned, they made the best of their way on board, carrying with them all their utensils, and set sail for Providence, whither they arrived in three days; it being now just seven weeks from the time of their being first set on shore by the pirates.

The governor, in the mean time, was fitting out a sloop to send to Long-Island, in order to take those pirates who had saved themselves near the salt ponds there, which sloop was now ready to sail, and put under the command of Benjamin Hornygold. Turnley and his companions embarked on board of her, and

care was taken to get as many men as they could, who were entire strangers to the pirates.

When they arrived at the said island, they ran in pretty near the shore, keeping but few hands on deck, that it might look like a trading vessel, and those men that were quite unknown to the pirates.

The pirates seeing them, came only two or three of them near the shore, the rest lying in ambush, not without hopes of finding an opportunity to seize the sloop, which sent her boat out towards the shore, with orders to lay off at a little distance, as if she was afraid. Those in ambush seeing the boat so near, had not patience to stay any longer, but flocked to the water side, calling out to them to come on shore, and help them, for they were poor shipwrecked men, perishing for want. Upon which the boat rowed back again to the sloop.

Upon second thoughts they sent her off again with two bottles of wine, a bottle of rum, and some biscuit, and sent another man, who was a stranger to those ashore, with orders to pass for master of the vessel. As soon as they approached them, the pirates called to them as before, begging them, for God's sake to come on shore; they did so, and gave them the biscuit, wine, and rum, which he said he brought ashore on purpose to comfort them, because his men told him they were cast away. They were very inquisitive to know where he was bound. He told them, to New-York, and that he came in there to take in salt. They earnestly entreated him to take them on board, and carry them as passengers to New-York; they being about sixteen in

number, he answered, he was afraid he had not provision sufficient for so great a number; but that he would go on board and overhaul his provision, and if they pleased, some of them might go with him, and see how his stock stood; that at least he would carry some of them, and leave some refreshment for the rest, till they could be succoured another way, but that he hoped they would make him some recompense when they should arrive at New-York.

They seemed wonderfully pleased with his proposal, and promised to make him ample satisfaction for all the charges he should be at, pretending to have good friends and considerable effects in different parts of America. Accordingly he took several of them with him in the boat, and as soon as they got on board he invited them into the cabin, where, to their surprise, they saw Benjamin Horneygold, formerly a brother pirate; but what astonished them more, was to see Richard Turnley, whom they had lately marooned upon Green Key. They were immediately surrounded by several with pistols in their hands, and clapped in irons.

As soon as this was over, the boat went on shore again, and those in the boat told the pirates, that the captain would venture to carry them with what provision he had; at which they appeared much rejoiced, and so the rest were brought on board, and without much trouble clapped in irons, as well as their companions.

The sloop had nothing more to do, and therefore set sail, and reaching Providence, delivered the pi-

rates all prisoners into the fort. A Court of Admiralty was immediately called, and they were all tried, and nine received sentence of death, viz. John Augur, William Cunningham, Dennis Mackarthy, William Dowling, William Lewis, Thomas Morris, George Bendall, William Ling, and George Rounsivel, which last was finally reprieved and pardoned. The other seven were acquitted, it appearing that they were forced.

The following is the sentence pronounced upon the prisoners:—

THE COURT having duly considered of the evidence which hath been given both for and against you the said John Augur, William Cunningham, Dennis Mackarthy, William Dowling, William Lewis, Thomas Morris, George Bendall, William Ling, and George Rounsivel; and having also debated the several circumstances of the cases, it is adjudged, that you the said John Augur, William Cunningham, Dennis Mackarthy, William Dowling, William Lewis, Thomas Morris, George Bendall, William Ling, and George Rounsivel, are guilty of the mutiny, felony, and piracy, wherewith you and every one of you stand accused. And the Court doth accordingly pass sentence, that you the said John Augur, William Cunningham, Dennis Mackarthy, William Dowling, William Lewis, Thomas Morris, George Bendall, William Ling, and George Rounsivel, be carried to prison from whence you came, and from thence to the place of execution, where you are to be hanged by the neck till you shall be *dead, dead, dead*; and God have mercy

on your souls. Given under our hands this 10th day of December, A. D. 1718. (Signed)

Woodes Rogers,

William Fairfax,

Robert Beauchamp,

Thomas Walker,

Wingate Gale,

Nathaniel Taylor,

Josias Burgiss,

Peter Courant.

After sentence was passed upon the prisoners, the governor, as president of the court, appointed their execution to be on Friday next, the 12th inst. at 10 o'clock in the morning.

Whereupon the prisoners prayed for longer time to repent and prepare for death; but the governor told them, that from the time of their being apprehended, they ought to have accounted themselves as condemned by the laws of all nations, which was only sealed now, and that the securing them hither-to, and the favour that the Court had allowed them in making as long a defence as they could, wholly took up that time which the affairs of the settlement required in working at the fortifications; besides the fatigue thereby occasioned to the whole garrison in the necessary guards, set over them by the want of a gaol, and the garrison having been very much reduced by sickness and death since his arrival; also, that he was obliged to employ all his people to assist in mounting the great guns, and in finishing the present works, with all possible despatch, on account of the expected war with Spain; and there being many more pirates amongst these islands, and this place left destitute of all relief from any man of war or station ship, joined to other reasons, too long to enumerate in court, he thought himself indispen-

sably obliged, for the welfare of the settlement, to give them no longer time.

The prisoners were then ordered to the place of their imprisonment in the fort, where leave was given them to send for any persons to read and pray with them.

On Friday morning each of the prisoners was called in private, to know if they had any load upon their spirits, for actions committed as yet unknown to the world, the declaring of which was absolutely required to prepare themselves for a fit repentance; but they each refused to declare any thing, as well as making known to the governor, if they knew of any conspiracy against the government.

Wherefore, about 10 o'clock, the prisoners were released from their irons, and committed to the charge and care of Thomas Robinson, Esq. commissioned Provost Marshal for the day, who, according to custom in such cases, pinioned them, &c. and ordered the guards appointed to assist him, to lead them to the top of the rampart, fronting the sea, which was well guarded by the governor's soldiers and people, to the number of about 100. At the prisoners' request, several select prayers and psalms were read, in which all present joined. When the service was ended, orders were given to the Marshal, and he conducted the prisoners down a ladder, provided on purpose, to the foot of the wall, where a gallows was erected, and a black flag hoisted thereon, and under it a stage, supported by three butts, on which they ascended by another ladder, where the hangman fastened the cords. They had three-quarters of an hour allowed under the gal-

lows, which was spent by them in singing psalms, and some exhortations to their old consorts, and the other spectators, who got as near to the foot of the gallows as the marshal's guard would suffer them. When the marshal was ordered to make ready, and all the prisoners expected the launch, the governor thought fit to order George Rounsivel to be untied, and when brought off the stage, the butts having ropes about them, were hauled away; upon which, the stage fell, and the prisoners were suspended.

A Short Account of the Prisoners Executed.

First, John Augur, being about 40 years of age, had been a noted shipmaster at Jamaica, and since among the pirates; but on his accepting of His Majesty's act of grace, and recommendations to the governor, he was, notwithstanding, entrusted with a good vessel and cargo, in which, betraying his trust, and knowing himself guilty of the indictment, he all along appeared very penitent, and neither washed, shaved, or shifted his old clothes, when carried to be executed; and when he had a small glass of wine given him on the rampart, drank it with wishes for the good success of the Bahama Islands, and the governor.

The second, William Cunningham, aged 45, had been gunner with Thatch, the pirate, who, being also conscious of his own guilt, was seemingly penitent, and behaved himself as such.

The third, Dennis Mackarthy, aged 28, had also been formerly a pirate, but accepted of the king's act of grace; and the governor had made him an ensign of the militia, being recommended as a sober, dis-

creet person, which commission he had at the time of his joining the pirates, which very much aggravated his other crimes. During his imprisonment, he behaved himself tolerably well; but when he thought he was to die, and the morning came, without his expected reprieve, he shifted his clothes, and wore long blue ribands at his neck, wrists, knees, and cap; and when on the rampart, looked cheerfully round him, saying, *He knew the time when there were many brave fellows on the island, who would not have suffered him to die like a dog*; and at the same time pulled off his shoes, kicking them over the parapet of the fort, saying, *He had promised not to die with his shoes on*; so descended the fort wall, and ascended the stage, with the agility and address of a prize-fighter. When mounted, he exhorted the people, who were at the foot of the walls, to have compassion on him; but, however willing, they saw too much power over their heads to attempt any thing in his favour.

The fourth, William Dowling, about 24 years of age, had been a considerable time among the pirates, of a wicked life, which His Majesty's act of grace did not reform. His behaviour was very loose on the stage, and after his death, some of his acquaintance declared, he had confessed to them, that he had murdered his mother before he left Ireland.

The fifth, William Lewis, aged about 34 years, as he had been a hardy pirate and prize-fighter, affected an unconcern at death; but heartily desired liquors to drink with his fellow-sufferers on the stage, and with the standers by.

The sixth, Thomas Morris, aged about 22, had

been a very incorrigible youth and pirate, and seemed to have very little anxiety of mind by his frequent smiles when at the bar. Being dressed with red ribands, as Mackarthy was with blue, he said, going over the ramparts, *We have a new governor, but a harsh one; and a little before he was turned off, said aloud, he might have been a greater plague to these islands, and now he wished he had been so.*

The seventh, George Bendall, aged 18, though he said, *he had never been a pirate before, yet he had all the villanous inclinations the most profligate youth could be infected with.* His behaviour was sullen.

The eighth, William Ling, aged about 30, not taken notice of before the last attempt, behaved himself as became a true penitent, and was not heard to say any thing besides replying to Lewis, when he demanded wine to drink, *that water was more suitable to them at that time.*

It was observed that there were but few (besides the governor's adherents) among the spectators, who had not deserved the same fate, but pardoned by His Majesty's act of grace.



ADAM PENFEATHER'S NARRATIVE ¹

[From "Black Bartlemy's Treasure," by JEFFERY
FARNOL]

"**M**INE is a strange, wild story, Martin, but needs must I tell it and in few words as may be. Fifteen years ago (or thereabouts) I became one of that league known as the Brotherhood of the Coast and swore comradeship with one Nicholas Frant, a Kent man, even as I. Now though I was full young and a cautious man, yet, having a natural hatred of Spaniards and their ways, I wrought right well against them and was mighty diligent in many desperate affrays against their ships and along the Coast. 'Twas I (and my good comrade, Nick Frant) with sixteen lusty lads took sea in an open pinnace and captured the great treasure galleon *Dolores del Principe* off Carthage, and what with all this, Martin, and my being blessed with some education and a gift of adding two and two together, I got me rapid advancement in the Brotherhood until—well, shipmate, I that am poor and solitary was once rich and with nigh a thousand bully fellows at command. And then it was that I fell in with that arch-devil, that master rogue whose deeds had long been

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a terror throughout the Main, a fellow more bloody than any Spaniard, more treacherous than any Portugal, and more cruel than any Indian-Inca, Mosquito, Maya or Aztec, and this man an Englishman, and one of birth and breeding, who hid his identity under the name of Bartlemy. I met him first in Tortuga where we o' the Brotherhood lay, six stout ships and nigh four hundred men convened for an expedition against Santa Catalina and this for two reasons; first, because 'twas a notable rich city, and second, to rescue certain of the Brotherhood that lay there waiting to be burnt at the next auto-da-fé. Well, Martin, 'tis upon a certain evening that this Bartlemy comes aboard my ship and with him his mate, by name Tressady. And never was greater difference than 'twixt these two, Tressady being a great, wild fellow with a steel hook in place of his left hand, d'ye see, and Bartlemy a slender, dainty-seeming, friendly-smiling gentleman, very nice as to speech and deportment and clad in the latest mode, from curling periwig to jewelled shoe buckles.

“ ‘Captain Penfeather,’ says he, ‘your most dutiful, humble—ha, let me perish but here is curst reek o' tar!’ with which, Martin, he claps a jewelled pomander to the delicate nose of him. ‘You’ve heard of me, I think, Captain,’ says he, ‘and of my ship, yonder, *The Ladies’ Delight*?’ I told him I had, Martin, bluntly and to the point, whereat he laughs and bows and forthwith proffers to aid us against Santa Catalina, the which I refused forthwith. But my council of captains, seeing his ship was larger than any we possessed and exceeding well armed and manned, overruled me,

and the end of it was we sailed, six ships of the Brotherhood and this accursed pirate.

“Well, Martin, Santa Catalina fell according to my plans and, the Governor and Council agreeing to pay ransom, I drew off my companies and camped outside the walls of the town till they should collect the money. Now the women of this place were exceeding comely, Martin, in especial the Governor’s lady, and upon the second night was sudden outcry and uproar within the city. Whereupon I marched into the place forthwith and found this curst Bartlemy and his rogues, grown impatient, were at their devil’s work. Hasting to the Governor’s house, I found it gutted and him dragged from his bed and with the life gashed out of him—aye, Martin, torn body and throat, d’ye see, as by the fangs of some great beast! That was the first time I saw what a steel hook may do! As for this poor gentleman’s lady, she was gone. Hereupon, we o’ the Brotherhood fell upon these pirate rogues and fought them by light o’ the blazing houses (for they had fired the city) and I, thus espying the devil Bartlemy, met him point to point. He was very full o’ rapier tricks, but so was I, Martin (also I was younger) and winged him sore and had surely ended him, but that Tressady and divers others got him away and what with the dark night and the woods that lie shorewards he, together with some few of his crew, got them back aboard his ship, *The Ladies’ Delight* and so away, but twelve of his rogues we took (beyond divers we slew in fight) and those twelve I saw hanged that same hour. A week later we sailed for Tortuga with no less than ninety and one thou-

sand pieces of eight for our labour, but I and those with me never had the spending of a single piece, Martin, for we ran into a storm such as I never saw the like of even in those seas. Well, we ran afore it for three days, and its fury nothing abating all this time, I never quit the deck; but I had been wounded and on the third night, being fevered and outworn, turned in below. I was awakened by Nick Frant roaring in my ear, for the tempest was very loud and fierce:

"'Adam,' cried he, 'we're lost, every soul and the good money! We've struck a reef, Adam, and 'tis the end, and a' of the good money!'" Hereupon I climbed 'bove deck, the vessel on her beam ends and in desperate plight, and nought to be seen i' the dark save the white spume as the seas broke over us. None the less I set the crew to cutting away her masts and heaving the ordnance overboard (to lighten her thereby), but while this was doing comes a great wave roaring out of the dark and, dashing aboard us, whirled me up and away and I, borne aloft on that mighty, hissing sea, strove no more, doubting not my course was run. So, blinded, choking, I was borne aloft and then, Martin, found myself adrift in water calm as any mill pond—a small lagoon—and, spying through the dark a grove of palmetto trees, presently managed to climb ashore, more dead than alive. Lying there, I prayed—a thing I had not done for many a year. As the dawn came I saw the great wave had hurled me over the barrier reef into this small lagoon, and beyond the reef lay all that remained of my good ship.

"I was yet viewing this dolorous sight (and much cast down for the loss of my companions, in especial my sworn friend Nicholas Frant) when I heard a sound behind me and, turning about, espied a woman, and in this woman's face (fair though it was) I read horror and sadness beyond tears, and yet I knew her, for the same had been wife to the murdered governor of Santa Catalina.

" 'Go back!' says she in Spanish, pointing to the surf that thundered beyond the reef. 'Go back! Here is the devil—the sea hath more mercy—go back whiles ye may!' And now she checked all at once and falls a-shivering, for a voice reached us, a man's voice a-singing fair to hear and the song he sang was this,

'Hey cheerly O and cheerly O
And cheerly come sing O
While at the mainyard to and fro—'

and knowing this voice (to my cost) I looked around for some weapon, since I had none and was all but naked, and whipping up a jagged and serviceable stone, stood awaiting him with this in my fist. And down the beach he comes, jocund and debonair in his finery, albeit something pale by reason of excess and my rapier work. And now I come to look at you, Martin, he was just such another as you as to face and feature, though lacking your beef and bone. Now he, beholding me where I stood, flourishes off his be-laced hat and, making me a bow, comes on smiling.

" 'Ah,' says he gaily, ' 'tis Captain Penfeather of

the Brotherhood, a-colloquing with my latest wife! Is she not a pearl o' dainty woman-ware, Captain, a sweet and luscious piece, a passionate, proud beauty worth the taming—ha, Captain? And she is tamed, see you. To your dainty knees, wench—down!

"Now though he smiled yet and spake her gentle, she, bowing proud head, sank to her knees, crouching on the ground before him, while he looked down on her, the devil in his eyes and his jewelled fingers toying with the dagger in his girdle, a strange dagger with a hilt wrought very artificially in the shape of a naked woman—"

"How," asked I, "a woman, Penfeather?"

"Aye, shipmate! So I stood mighty alert, my eyes on this dagger, being minded to whip it into his rogue's heart as chance might offer. 'I wonder,' says he to this poor lady, 'I wonder how long I shall keep thee, madonna, a week—a month—a year? Venus knoweth, for you amuse me, sweet—Rise, rise, dear my lady, my Dolores of Joy, rise and aid me with thy counsel, for here hath this misfortunate clumsy Captain fool blundered into our amorous paradise, this tender Cyprian isle sacred to our passion. Yet here is he profaning our joys with his base material presence. How then shall we rid ourselves of this offence? The knife—this lover o' men of mine? The bullet? Yet 'tis a poor small naked rogue, and in two days cometh my *Ladies' Delight* and Tressady with his hook—see, my Dolores, for two days he shall be our slave and thereafter, for thy joy, shall show thee how to die, my sweet—torn 'twixt pimento trees or Tressady's hook—thou shalt choose the manner

of 't. And now, unveil, unveil, my goddess of the isle—so shall—' Ha, Martin! My stone took him 'neath the ear, and as he swayed reeling to the blow, lithe and swift as any panther this tortured woman sprang, and I saw the flash of steel ere it was buried in his breast. Even then he didn't fall, but, staggering to a pimento tree, leans him there and falls a-laughing, a strange, high-pitched, gasping laugh, and as he laughed thus, I saw the silver haft of the dagger that was a woman leap and quiver in his breast. Then, laughing yet, he, never heeding me, plucked and levelled sudden pistol, and when the smoke cleared the brave Spanish lady lay dead upon the sands.

" 'A noble piece, Captain,' says he, gasping for breath, and then to her. 'Art gone, my goddess—I—follow thee!' And now he sinks to his knees and begins to crawl where she lay, but getting no further than her feet (by reason of faintness) he clasps her feet and kisses them, and laying his head upon them—closes his eyes. 'Penfeather!' he groans, 'my treasure—hidden—dagger—'

"Then I came very hastily and raised his head (for I had oft heard talk o' this treasure) and in that moment he died. So I left them lying and coming to the seaboard sat there a great while, watching the break o' the seas on what was left o' the wreck, yet seeing it not. I sat there till noon, Martin, until, driven by thirst and hunger and heat of sun, I set off to seek their habitation, for by their looks I judged them well-fed and housed. But, and here was the marvel, Martin, seek how I might I found no sign of any hut or shelter save that afforded by nature (as caves and

trees) and was forced to satisfy my cravings with such fruits as flourished in profusion, for this island, Martin, is a very earthly paradise.

"That night, the moon being high and bright, I came to that stretch of silver sand beside the lagoon where they lay together rigid and pale and, though I had no other tool but his dagger and a piece o' drift-wood, made shift to bury them 'neath the great pimento tree that stood beside the rock, and both in the same grave. Which done, I betook me to a dry cave hard by a notable fall of water that plungeth into a lake and there passed the night. Next day, having explored the island very thoroughly and dined as best I might on shell fish that do abound, I sat me down where I might behold the sea and fell to viewing of this silver-hilted dagger—"

"The which was shaped like a woman?" asked I.

"Aye, Martin. And now, bethinking me of Bartlemy's dying words anent this same dagger, and of the tales I had heard full oft along the Main regarding this same Bartlemy and his hidden treasure, I fell to handling this dagger, turning and twisting it this way and that. And suddenly, shipmate, I felt the head turn upon the shoulders 'twixt the clasping hands; turn and turn until it came away and showed a cavity, and in this cavity a roll of parchment and that parchment none other than this map with the cryptogram the which I could make nought of.

"Now as I sat thus, studying this meaningless jumble of words, I of a sudden espied a man below me on the reef, a wild, storm-tossed figure, his scanty clothing all shreds and tatters, and as he went seeking

of shellfish that were plenteous enough, I knew him for my sworn comrade Nick Frant. And then, Martin, I did a strange thing, for, blood-brothers though we were, I made haste (and all of a tremble) to slip back this map into its hiding place, which done I arose, hailing my comrade, and went to meet him joyously enough. And no two men in the world more rejoiced than we, as we clasped hands and embraced each other as only comrades may. It seemed the hugeous sea that had caught me had caught him likewise and hurled him, sore bruised, some miles to the south of the reef. So now I told him of the deaths of Bartlemy and the poor lady, yet Martin (and this was strange) I spoke nothing of knife or treasure; I told him of the expectation I had of the pirate ship's return, and yet I never once spake o' the map and chart. And methinks the secret cast a shadow betwixt us that grew ever deeper, for as the days passed and no sail appeared, there came a strangeness, an unlove betwixt us that grew until one day we fell to open quarrel, disputation and deadly strife, and the matter no more than a dead man's shirt (and that ragged) that had come ashore.

"And we (being in rags and the sun scorching) each claimed this shirt, and from words came blows. He had his seaman's knife and I Bartlemy's accursed dagger, and so we fought after the manner of the buccaneers, his leg bound fast to mine and, Martin, though he was a great fellow and strong and wounded me sore, in the end I got in a thrust under the armpit, and he fell a-dying and I with him. Then I (seeing death in his eyes, Martin) clasped him in my arms

and kissed him and besought him not to die, whereat he smiled. 'Adam!' says he, 'why, Adam, lad—' and so died.

"Then I took that accursed dagger, wet with my comrade's life blood, and hurled it from me, and so with many tears and lamentations I presently buried poor Nick Frant in the sands and lay there face down upon his grave, wetting it with my tears and groaning there till nightfall. But all next day, Martin (though my heart yearned to my slain friend), all next day I spent seeking and searching for the dagger that had killed him. And as the sun set, I found it. Thereafter I passed my days (since the pirate ship came not, doubtless owing to the late tempest) studying the writing on the chart here, yet came no nearer a solution, though my imagination was inflamed by mention of diamonds, rubies and pearls as ye may see written here for yourself. So the time passed till one day at dawn I beheld a great ship, her mizzen and fore-topmasts gone, standing in for my island, and as she drew nearer, I knew her at last for that accursed pirate ship called *Ladies' Delight*. Being come to anchor within some half mile or so, I saw a boat put off for the reef and, lying well hid, I watched this boat, steered by a knowing hand, pass through the reef by a narrow channel and so enter the lagoon. Now in this boat were six men and at the rudder sat Tressady, and I saw his hook flash in the sun as he sprang ashore. Having beached their boat, they fell to letting off their calivers and pistols and hallooing:

"'Oho, Captain!' they roared. 'Bartlemy, ahoy!' And this outcry maintained they for some while. But

none appearing to answer, they seemed to take counsel together and thereafter set off three and three, shouting as they went. And now it seemed they knew no more of Bartlemy's hiding place than I, whereat I rejoiced greatly. So lay I all that forenoon watching their motions and hearing their outcries now here, now there, until, marvelling at the absence of Bartlemy, they sat down all six upon the spit of sand whereby I lay hid and fell to eating and drinking, talking the while, though too low for me to hear what passed. But all at once they seemed to fall to disputation, Tressady and a small, dark fellow against the four, and thereafter to brawl and fight, though this was more butchery than fight, Martin, for Tressady shoots down two ere they can rise and, leaping up, falls on other two with his hook—! So with aid from the small, dark fellow they soon have made an end o' their four companions and, leaving them lying, come up the beach and sitting below the ledge of rock whereon I lay snug hidden, fell to talk.

“‘So Ben, *comarado mio*, we be committed to it now! Since these four be dead and all men well-loved by Bartlemy, needs must Bartlemy follow 'em!’

“‘Aye!’ says the man Ben, ‘when we have found him. Though Bartlemy's a fighting man!’

“‘And being a man can die, Ben. And he once dead, we stand his heirs—you and I, Ben, I and you!’

“‘Well and good!’ says Ben. ‘But for this treasure, where lieth it and for that matter, Roger, where is Bartlemy?’

“‘Both to find, Ben, so let us set about it forthwith.’ The which they did, Martin; for three days they

sought the island over and I watching 'em. On the third day, as they are sitting 'neath the great pimento tree I have mentioned (and I watching close by), Tressady sits up all at once.

" 'Ben!' says he, 'what be yon?' and he pointed to a mound of sand hard by.

" 'Lord knoweth!' says Ben.

" 'Yon's been digging,' says Tressady, 'and none so long since!'

" 'Aye,' said Ben, 'and now what?'

" 'Now,' says Tressady, 'let us dig likewise.'

" 'Aye, but what with?' says Ben.

" 'Our fingers!' says Tressady. So there and then they fell to digging, casting up the loose sand with their two hands, dog-fashion and I, watching, turned my head that I might not see.

" 'Ha!' says Tressady, in a while, 'here is foul reek. Ben, foul reek.'

" 'Right curst!' says Ben and then uttered a great, hoarse cry. And I, knowing what they had come upon, kept my face turned away. "'Tis she!' whispers Ben.

" 'Aye, and him!' says Tressady. 'Faugh! Man, 'tis ill thing, but needs must—his dagger, Ben, his dagger.'

" 'Here's no dagger,' says Ben. 'Here's empty sheath but no steel in't!'

" "'Tis fallen out!' says Tressady in strangled voice. 'Seek, Ben, seek!' So despite the horror of the thing, they sought, Martin; violating death and careless of corruption they sought, and all the time the thing they sought was quivering in this right hand.

“ ‘Ben,’ says Tressady when they were done, ‘Ben—how came he dead—how?’ ”

“ ‘Who shall say, Roger? Mayhap they did each other’s business.’ ”

“ ‘Why then—where’s the dagger o’ the woman—the silver goddess—where? And how came they buried?’ ”

“ ‘Aye, there’s the rub, Roger!’ ”

“ ‘Why,’ says Tressady, ‘look’ee, Ben, ’tis in my mind we’re not alone on this island—’ ”

“ ‘And who should be here, Roger?’ ”

“ ‘The man that slew our Captain!’ Here there was silence awhile; then the man Ben rose and spat.

“ ‘Faugh!’ says he. ‘Come away, Roger, ere I stifle—come, i’ the devil’s name!’ So they went and I lying hid secure watched them out of sight.

“Now when they were gone I took counsel with myself, for here were two desperate, bloody rogues very well armed, and here was I a solitary man with nought to my defence save for Nick’s knife and the silver-hilted dagger which was heavy odds, Martin, as you’ll agree. Now I have ever accounted myself a something timid man, wherefore in cases of desperate need and danger I have been wont to rely on my wit rather than weapons, on head rather than hands. So now as I looked upon this cursed dagger wherewith I had slain my poor friend, beholding this evil silver woman whose smile seemed verily to allure men to strife and bloodshed, the end of it was I stole from my lurking place and set the dagger amid the gnarled roots of the great pimento tree where it might have slipped from dying fingers, and so got me back into

hiding. And sure enough in a while comes the big man Tressady, a-stealing furtive-fashion, and falls to hunting both in the open grave and round about but, finding nothing, steals him off again. Scarce was he out of eye-shot, Martin, than cometh the little dark fellow Ben, who likewise fell to stealthy search, grubbing here and there on hands and knees yet with none better fortune than his comrade. But of a sudden he gives a spring and, stooping, stands erect with Bartlemy's dagger in his hand. Now scarce had he found it than comes Tressady creeping from where he had lain watching.

"'Ha, Ben!' says he jovially. 'How then, lad, how then? Hast found what we sought? Here's luck, Ben, here's luck! Aye, by cock, 'tis your fortune to find it, and your fortune's my fortune, eh, Ben—us being comrades, Ben?'

"'Aye,' says Ben, turning the dagger this way and that.

"'Ha' ye come on the chart, Ben; ha' ye found the luck in't, Ben?'

"'Stay, Roger, I've but just picked it up!—'

"'And was coming to your comrade with it, eh, Ben—share and share—eh, Benno—Bennie?'

"'Aye,' says Ben, staring down at the thing, 'but 'twas me as found it, Roger!'

"'And what then, lad, what then?'

"'Why, then, Roger, since I found it, 'tis mine,' says he, gripping the dagger in quivering fist and glancing up sideways.

"'Hilt and blade, Ben!'

"'And the chart, Roger!'

" 'Aye, and the chart, Ben!' says Tressady, coming a pace nearer, and I saw his hook glitter.

" 'And the treasure, Roger?' says Ben, making little passes in the air to see the blue gleam of the steel.

" 'All yours, Ben, all yours, and what's yours is mine, according to oath, Ben, to oath! But come, Ben, you hold the secret o' the treasure in your fist—the silver goddess. Come, the chart, lad, out wi' the chart, and Bartlemy's jewels are ours—pearls, Ben—diamonds, rubies—aha, come, find the chart—let your comrade aid ye, lad—'

" 'Stand back!' says Ben and whips a pistol from his belt. 'Look'ee, Roger,' says he, 'I found the dagger without ye, and I'll find the chart—stand back!'

" 'Why, here's ill manners to a comrade, Ben, ill manners, sink me—but as ye will. Only out wi' the chart, and let's go seek the treasure, Ben.'

" 'D'ye know the secret o' this thing, Roger?'

" 'Not I, Ben!'

" 'Why, then must I break it asunder. Hand me yon piece o' rock,' says Ben, pointing to a heavy stone that chanced to be near.

" 'Stay, Ben lad, 'twere pity to crush the silver woman, but if you will, you will, Ben—take a hold!' So saying, Tressady picked up the stone, but, as his comrade reached to take it, let it fall, whereon Ben stooped for it, and in that moment Tressady was on him. And then—ha, Martin, I heard the man Ben scream and as he writhed, saw Tressady's hook at work . . . the man screamed but once . . . and then, wiping the hook on his dead comrade's coat, he took up the dagger and began to unscrew the head.

But now, Martin, methought 'twas time for me to act, if I meant to save my life, for I had nought but Nick Frant's knife, while within Tressady's reach lay the dead man's pistols and divers musketoons and fusees on the beach behind him, which put me to no small panic lest he shoot me ere I could come at him with my knife. Thus, as I lay watching, I took counsel with myself how I might lure him away from these firearms wherewith he might hunt me down and destroy me at his ease; and the end of it was I started up all at once and, leaning down towards him, shook the parchment in his face. 'Ha, Tressady!' says I. 'Is this the thing you've murdered your comrades for?' Now at this Tressady sprang back, to stare from me to the thing in my hand, Martin, and then—ha, then with a wild-beast roar he sprang straight at me with his hook—even as I had judged he would. As for me, I turned and ran, making for a rocky ledge I knew, with Tressady panting behind me, his hook ringing on the rocks as he scrambled in pursuit. So at last we reached the place I sought—a shelf of rock, the cliff on one side, Martin, and on the other a void with the sea thundering far below—a narrow ledge where his great bulk hampered him and his strength availed little. And there we fought, his dagger and hook against my dead comrade's knife, and thus as he sprang, I, falling on my knee, smote up beneath raised arm, heard him roar and saw him go whirling over and down and splash into the sea—"

"And had the dagger with him, Adam!" said I in eager question.

"Aye, Martin, which was the end of an ill rogue and an evil thing—"

THE CAPTURE OF JULIUS CÆSAR

[From "The Book of Pirates" by HENRY GILBERT]

IT was a brilliant day in summer, and the blue of the Mediterranean was answered by the fleckless blue of the sky, out of which the sun shone with all the fierceness of noon. In a rocky creek of the island of Pharmacusa, which lay a few miles off the coast of Caria, in Asia Minor, lay a long black galley, its nose of burnished copper just showing outside the entrance of the creek. With its benches of rowers who sat quietly chatting, their black oars not placed inboard, but ready to their hands, the raking mast and the huge half-furled sail, the galley had all the appearance of a vicious scorpion waiting in a cleft of the rocks for some unwary prey. Every man had a keen knife at his girdle, and in the box under his seat were stores of javelins, bows and arrows, slings and stones. These rowers were not slaves: each took part and lot in the enterprise on which they were engaged; each was a seaman and a fighter, as apt at the oar or the sail as at the set-to with knife or short throwing-spear. Indeed, this was the galley *Milvus*, "The Kite," one of the scouting vessels of the pirate chief Spartaco, leader of a band of sea-rovers whose name was a name of terror up and down the coasts of Asia Minor, from the Hellespont to Tyre, in Syria.

Three men sat in the little cabin on the high-curving poop, from which they had a wide view over the deck of the vessel and away to where the shores of Caria

shimmered in the heat haze. They were waiting for any merchant-vessels beating up in the south-west wind from Greece or Italy, and making for Miletus or Ephesus. To pass the time away they were throwing dice, but the day was hot and the game dragged.

"Zeus!" said one, named Micio, yawning. "As well be lizards baking on a stone as wait here for ships that never come! The sea is as empty as the treasury at Samos!"

This referred to one of the most daring recent exploits of Spartaco, in violating a temple to Venus in the island of Samos, which lay some thirty miles to the north of where they were seated. The beautiful building had been ruined by fire, after the pirates had put the priests and priestesses to the sword and had rifled the treasury and temple of all the wealth given to it by generations of devout worshippers. The speaker had suggested this exploit to his chief, who sat beside him, and he rather prided himself upon his initiative.

"*Me Hercule!*" sneered the third man, a truculent, black-browed rascal named Syrus. "You talk as if you had scaled the walls of Olympus and robbed Jove of his thunderbolts! There is a greater prize than any you would have the courage for, if Spartaco here will let us do it."

"And what is that?" asked Spartaco, a little fierce-faced man with gold rings in his ears, gold chains round his neck, and flashing jewels on his dirty fingers.

"The Temple of Diana at Ephesus!" replied Syrus.

"There is booty enough there, 'tis true," said Spartaco; "but the town is a strong one and Archelaus, the

governor there, is a hard man, who would not be bought over to our side except for a very large sum. And even if he agreed to take his soldiers away while we plundered, the Ephesians would fight like wild cats for their Diana."

"I like it not," said Micio. "The goddess has been good to me. I sacrificed to her when I sacked Agri-gentum, and she saved me from death and capture that day, for the Sicilians fought too well."

"Pshaw!" returned Spartaco. "These gods and goddesses cannot help themselves. Until my old chief Storax of Cyprus took it into his head to sack Apollo's temple at Claros, because the god refused him the ship of the rich merchant Crassus at Chios, no captain of the sea had dared to think of trying the strength of a god. Did any ill befall Storax by reason of that? Did he not afterward sack the temple of Ceres at Hermione, and that of the healing-god, Æsculapius, at Epidaurus? What he could do others have done. Sannio the Negro took much treasure from the temple of Neptune in the Isthmus, and because the god sank two of his best galleys at Tæ-narus he sacked his temple there too, and at Calauria."

"But, mark you, captain," said Micio, "I think these things pass not without note, though the old gods be fallen now on careless days since the Bull-God Mithras is so widely worshipped. What happened to Storax? you ask. Was he not slain by an unseen hand as he feasted in his mountain-hold at Aspera, in the midst of his faithful men? It was an arrow of the god that slew him, of a surety, for all such deaths are

from the hand of Apollo. And Sannio—what befell him at Messina? As he rode in the midst of his galleys in a calm sea, waiting for his men to bring off the senators Sextus and Glabrio, to hold for ransom, a great wave rolled in from the Narrow Strait and swamped and drowned five galleys and some four hundred men—Sannio among them.”

“Old women’s tales, all such!” returned Spartaco; but his words did not ring with sincerity. As a matter of fact, superstition moved him as much as it moved the wisest and basest of men in those times, when the old gods were dying and new and untried gods were taking their places. Men’s minds were still affected more strongly by the old beliefs than by the new, and Spartaco could not keep down the feeling that there might be some truth in the words of his lieutenant Micio.

Syrus was quick to see the doubt in the mind of his captain and therefore laughed.

“We must look, then, for some act of vengeance upon us from the dainty hand of the goddess Venus!” he said. “Doubtless the next serving-maid from whom we would snatch a kiss will thump us heartily!”

Spartaco laughed harshly, but Micio looked gloomy. He had himself suggested the sacking of the temple of Venus at Samos, but it had been to make favour for himself with Spartaco, and he had no thought then of the possible wrath and vengeance of the goddess. Syrus sneered at him.

“Croaker!” he said. “I believe you’ve frightened yourself now. As for me, I fear none of the old gods while the young Mithras protects me.”

He made the sign of the swastika in the air, invoking the protection of Mithras.

At that moment there came a faint, broken halloo from the look-out on the topmost rock on the shore. A quick movement ran through the men on the benches of the galley; they clutched at the handles of their long oars and looked up at their leaders for orders. Spartaco and his lieutenants gazed shoreward, and saw a man gesticulating toward the sea to the north, as if pointing to an advancing vessel.

"Jump ashore, Micio," said the captain of the galley, "and run to the northern point and see what you make of the stranger."

Micio did as he was ordered, and in the course of a few minutes returned to say that there were two merchant-galleys whose course showed that they were making for Miletus. They were heavily laden, and were therefore a likely prize.

"Give the call for the other galleys!" said Spartaco; and soon a trumpet-call, clear and high, rang out along the rocks and creeks of the island.

A few orders, and the *Milvus* had been pushed out of the creek, and, followed by two other galleys which had been hiding in neighbouring inlets, was on her way toward the merchant-ships. With their long oars rising and falling in regular beats, the pirate galleys looked like great sinister sea-monsters skimming over the bright blue waves. The oars as they struck the waters churned them into foam; the sun shone brightly and turned the tossing water into jewels which flashed as they fell; the wind sang, carrying on it the salt smell of the sea. The pirates, however, saw little

of the beauty of sea and sky, sun and wind; like birds of prey, they had eyes only for their victims, and, urged by the sinewy arms of the rascals on the oar-banks, the three galleys quickly approached the merchantmen.

At the first sight of the black craft racing toward them the traders had increased their speed, had stretched another sail, and incited their rowers to greater efforts. But the vessels were too heavily laden, and the chief merchant, a fat, pursy man, rung his hands as he saw how swiftly the pirates were lessening the interval between the boats.

On the poop with the chief merchant was a spare young man, a Roman by his dress, with aristocratic features and bold, confident bearing. He was dressed in a white woollen tunic, with sleeves which reached to the wrists, where they were cut into a deep fringe. The garment was slackly girdled. The fringed tunic and the loose girdle were thought to be signs of effeminacy in those days. On his feet were shoes of scarlet leather. As the young man saw the pirate galleys coming nearer and nearer he laughed at the merchant's woeful cries.

"It is no use your lamenting," he said with a sneer. "If you had waited for the other merchants you might have been able to beat these rascals off. As it is, they outnumber you by three to two."

"But I wished to get the market before the others," whined the greedy old merchant. "What a loss it is! These rogues will make me pay heavily for my ransom. Oh that I had waited!"

The foppish young man turned away with a yawn.

Two servants stood near, and he ordered one to ask his physician to come to him; the other he told to bring his toga, and to bid the rest of his servants to come upon the poop. Then he leaned idly against the side of the vessel and looked at the rushing onset of the first galley.

The merchant, seeing escape was hopeless, had ordered his slaves to cease rowing, and his sailors were reefing the sails. Soon the merchant-galleys lost their way and sat motionless upon the water. Spartaco raced his galley to within a hundred yards; then, at a word, his men ceased rowing and the galley glided just within speaking distance.

"What ship is that?" came the question.

"The *Golden Fleece*, of Rhodes," was the reply, "owned by Vinus the Lydian."

"If Vinus the Lydian is there, let him come aboard," came back the order. "If he is not there, let the shipmaster come to me!"

Vinus, the old merchant, thereupon got into a small boat with two of his men, and, taking his money and jewels with him, was rowed to the pirate galley. Meanwhile the young aristocrat, surrounded by his servants, sat with Cinna, his friend and physician, and, taking out a scroll from the breast-fold of his toga, began discussing its contents, as if the visit of some three hundred pirates, who thought nothing of sinking galleys and the people aboard them, was an everyday occurrence.

In a little while a boat put off from each of the pirate ships, crammed with men. They boarded the big merchant-ship, and then, after quickly going

through the cargo to note its value, turned their attention to the passengers on the poop.

It was Spartaco's quick eye who singled out the young Roman gentleman in the centre of his retinue. As he went along the gangway to the poop he growled to Micio behind him:

"Here's some sprig from Athens or Rome who will pay for keeping for a while."

Gaining the poop, the pirates went toward the group. The servants closed about their master, at which movement Spartaco laughed.

"Out of the way, spaniels!" he said. "I want your lord's money, not his life."

"What is it, Phormio?" came the drawling voice of the young Roman.

The slaves made way for the pirates, who walked up to the young exquisite. The latter, wrapped in his toga with its deep purple band, looked up with a slight air of annoyance at being disturbed.

"Who are you?" asked Spartaco harshly, disliking the haughty air of the aristocrat.

The other looked at his questioner with a patronizing smile for an instant. Then, with a gesture, he turned to his friend with the words:

"Tell the fellow, Cinna."

The physician, an elderly man, looked haughtily at the pirate and said:

"This gentleman is Caius Julius Cæsar, of Rome."

"What will he pay for the lives of himself and his people?" came the harsh question.

Cinna shrugged his shoulders and looked at his master, who, however, had returned to his book.

Spartaco waited for a reply, but as neither Cæsar nor Cinna appeared to think the question concerned him, and did not attempt to break the chilly silence, Spartaco, with an angry malediction, turned to Micio and said: "What are they worth, think you? From the pride of them the treasure of Midas wouldn't be enough."

Micio looked at the crowd of slaves and freedmen as if estimating their market value, and then muttered advice to his captain.

"I'll double it—twenty talents is what I want," said Spartaco.

Cæsar raised his head, and a look of real anger was in his eyes.

"Twenty talents!" he said icily. "My good fellow, I am afraid neither of you knows your business. Anyone who knows me will tell you that I am well worth fifty talents!"

For some moments Spartaco was speechless with surprise. As a rule people were anxious to get off with as low a ransom as their captors would accept, and for a prisoner to put up the price placed upon him was something unheard of. Moreover, Cæsar's valuation (equal to about £12,000 of our money) was a staggering amount. Spartaco hastened to get over his surprise and to accept the offer.

"Have it as you will," he said, with a harsh laugh. "Fifty talents you'll pay ere you see Rome again."

"I will send my people with letters to Rome," replied Cæsar. "You will ship them there at once, and the money shall be in your hands by the kalends of August."

Spartaco scowled; somehow this aristocrat seemed to be giving orders, and his captor had to obey them. The pirate growled assent and departed. In a little while the merchant-galleys were turned and rowed toward the island, where in a small bay they were anchored, and the rich gear and goods were landed to add to the stores of the pirates. Cæsar and the merchant and his people were housed in huts, which formed the village of the pirates, placed in a wide green field just below the high rock which formed the look-out of Spartaco and his band. There they would await the time when their ransoms were received. In a few hours Cæsar had written his letters to friends and kinsmen at Rome, and next morning the smaller merchant-vessel was manned by pirates, the freedmen and slaves of Cæsar, who were to take the letters, went on board, and, the wind being favourable, a course was set for Italy. The same day the pirates in one of their own galleys carried some of the merchant's slaves to Miletus, which was but a few miles away on the mainland. Cæsar also sent letters by these to friends of his in Asia Minor, particularly to Nicomedes, the wealthy King of Bithynia.

Cæsar remained with the pirates, accompanied only by Cinna, his friend and physician, and two body-servants, Milo, his barber, and Cotta, his cook. A hut was reserved for himself and Cinna, and every morning he bathed in a pool on the seashore, and on his return Milo shaved him and trimmed his nails, and then crimped and curled his hair with tongs. Then he partook of his spare breakfast of pulse and bread, which had been prepared by Cotta, after which

he would walk with Cinna, discussing some point of law, or the subject for a speech or poem. At the time of his capture Cæsar had been travelling to Rhodes to study oratory under Molo, a famous orator who lived there. Cæsar was at this time only twenty-three years of age, and had the ambition of becoming a senator. He had no inkling yet of the genius which he possessed for military leadership.

About midday he would take another spare meal—for Cæsar, even as a young man, had the habit, so rare in his days, of eating and drinking little; after which, in the hottest time of the day, he would take his siesta, sleeping in his hut. At two o'clock he would take exercise by running, leaping, and throwing big stones, and at three he would bathe again, after which he rested and Cinna would read to him. His last meal would be taken at four o'clock, after which he would sit conversing or reading with Cinna, or declaiming a speech which he had thought out and noted down during the day. Soon after dark he would retire to his couch.

The pirates, observing his manner of life, used to laugh and jest among themselves about him, calling him "the dandy," "the man-woman," or "the lady." They kept strict watch upon him, but this was because of his value, not that they feared he might try to escape. As the days went on they began to have a feeling of contempt for one whose amusements, interests, and manner of life were wholly different from theirs. They found pleasure in rough and brutal sports, or games of chance, at which they quarrelled and fought, sometimes to the death, while this stranger passed

his day in bathing, talking, reading, and exercising his limbs. So fearful was he of his precious health, indeed, that he kept a physician continually about him. Such a creature as this Caius Julius Cæsar, this aristocrat, was only half a man!

When, therefore, one night, into their midst, as they sat roaring out songs over their cups, the physician entered, and, going boldly up to Spartaco, said that Cæsar had sent him to tell them to keep silent, as he was about to sleep, looks of stupefied wonder gave way quickly to great guffaws of laughter at the insolence of the 'man-woman.'

"And why should we keep quiet?" growled Spartaco. "That little white man of yours would do well with a little hardship, and a night's sleeplessness will do him good. Tell him I shall make all the noise I wish."

"You are foolish, my friend," replied Cinna. "You wish to get the ransom for my friend and master, I suppose?" The pirate assented. "My friend is a man of delicate health; sleep and a quiet life are necessary to him. If he were to die here you would get no ransom, for the money is to be lodged with the Roman governor at Miletus, and will only be given to you when Cæsar goes there in person."

Spartaco scowled; the logic of this stranger was unanswerable. "Tell your man-woman that I will keep my boys quiet," he said.

Afterward, whenever the pirates forgot their promise and were noisy at night, Cæsar sent and ordered them to keep silent, and they instantly subsided, though with muttered curses. After the first few

days Cæsar spoke to several of them, getting them to talk of their exploits and leading them to reveal their true natures, in which craftiness, greed, and savagery mingled. Spartaco and Micio he particularly chose to talk to, and while he showed his contempt for their trade and their manners, and never let them forget the social gulf which lay between them, he entered into many of their games and diversions, got them to run and jump and throw balls with him, and to walk with him about the island.

The pirates could not understand him. He was frank in his manner, he laughed and jested with them, and when he chose to be so was excellent company. But they felt vaguely that he was not so soft a person as they had deemed him to be. He gave them orders as if he were their prince and they were merely his body-guard. They resented this manner, but he was so fearless and his bearing was so lordly that they had to obey, willy-nilly. They felt that under his suavity and condescension of manner there was a determination that nothing could break.

Once Spartaco and Micio and others with them were speaking of the cities they had taken, of the slaves they held in their strongholds in Cilicia, and of the many tributes they received from maritime cities and rich merchants as blackmail, so that they should not attack those cities or capture the vessels of the merchants.

"If there was any wit in your muddy minds," said Cæsar, "one or other of you would use your powers to still greater ends."

"As how?" asked Spartaco.

"You would make yourself master of all the pirate bands within the waters of the Middle Sea, you would confederate many maritime States under your power, and—who knows?—if you had brains enough to bend the quarrels of Rome and Italy to your own ends, you could take the place of Rome herself, who hates the sea, and be master over all the lands and oceans of the world."

He was half laughing as he spoke, in spite of the strange glow in his eyes, and they knew not whether he was speaking in jest or in earnest.

"But I fear you are men of too barbarous a taste to aim so high," he went on. "Tell me, is it true, as men say, that you reverence not even the temples of the gods?"

"We care a straw for nothing," said Spartaco savagely, incensed at the open contempt which this lord expressed for his captors, who usually experienced deference and fear in their prisoners. "And I think I would as soon slit your throat as have your money, my fine gentleman."

Cæsar laughed easily and ignored the other's anger. "If you did that, doubt not that you would rue it in a little while. What would my poor corpse benefit you? Think how you would curse yourself for a fool when you were told that fifty talents—three hundred thousand denarii—were waiting for you at Miletus, and all that you could offer for them was my poor clay! I thought you were men of business!"

"Aye, aye!" said some of the others, laughing at his mockery of their chief. "Spartaco will spare you for your money's sake, but your tongue is too free."

"Free, my friends!" said Cæsar, his eyes flashing and scorn curling his lips. "I am used to speaking my mind freely even in the Forum at Rome, before men whose shoe-latchets you are not fit to touch. Think you I should bridle my tongue for any one of your dirty knives?"

Most of the men laughed awkwardly; to take a man's life was nothing to these rough sea-robbers, but against their wills they were cowed by the utter fearlessness and pride of this Roman lord. Some found a zest in his insolence, and at any rate none of them would permit his life to be taken, unless, of course, his rich ransom never came to their hands.

Cæsar rose from the log on which he sat and, folding his toga about him, prepared to go to his own hut.

"What insolence!" he said jestingly. "Barbarians as you are, not to appreciate a gentleman's jests! Do you not know that a lord's slaves laugh or cry with him to save their backs from the whip? Not only do you threaten me with death, but you resent my jokes. For such insolence not one of you deserves less than the death of a common rogue, and, mark me, when I am free I will see to it that you all get your deserts on the cross!"

This sally excited the men to much laughter. The daring of the thought tickled their sense of the humorous. To think that this man, so much in their power, should threaten to crucify them like any other poor robber whom Roman justice thrust upon a cross along a roadside! After all, the lord could make a good jest.

Cæsar's fearlessness among these cut-throats was a

matter of wonder even to Cinna, his physician, who tried to dissuade him from trusting himself among them.

"My friend," Cæsar replied, "have no fear for me. These men value me too much to injure me. They are sorry rogues, indeed, but at least they enjoy the edge of my tongue."

One day Cæsar went to a party of the pirates as they sat after their evening meal and told them he would recite an oration which he had composed. It was a revised version of the final portion of the speech which he had given in the Forum when he had impeached Antonius Hybrida for corrupt government in Macedonia. With all solemnity, while the men gaped at him in wonder, he told them that this speech had always dissatisfied him, and, more than any of his other orations, had convinced him that a few sessions with the great orator Molo at Rhodes—whither he had been proceeding when their rascalities had seized his person—were necessary to perfect him in the art of rhetoric.

Then for some time he exerted all his gifts of eloquence upon the group of wretches before him. With every addition of fine phrasing, noble gesture, and telling intonation, he strove to make them realize the force of the arguments by which he sought to prove how utterly evil and injurious to the State had been the actions of the governor in taking bribes from suitors and from merchants and in robbing travellers of their goods. But all his efforts were in vain: the pirates were not impressed in the least, and even laughed at him, and half-way through his oration

many turned aside and began to play dice, or a game with small bones, called *mora*.

When he ended Cæsar looked sourly at them as they lolled in their places. Some joked about the gestures he had made; Spartaco said it seemed a lot to say about a man who had taken a few goods and trifling sums of gold; while another ruffian, supposed to be a very comic fellow, began to create roars of laughter in one corner by imitating Cæsar's motions and looks while he talked.

"Dolts and barbarians!" cried Cæsar. "It is like throwing pearls to swine or giving gold to asses to lay before you the riches of oratory such as I possess!"

"You learned men seem to do little else but talk," growled Syrus. "As for us seamen, we may be rough men, but we do much more than we talk about. Give me a man who does things, not one who mouths about what other men have done!"

"Dunce!" said Cæsar, with a scornful smile. "I suppose you will never learn that words can sway men much more than your brutal deeds with knife and javelin. Oh, I shall take the greatest pleasure in hanging you all when I am free again!"

Saying which, he walked away with great dignity, flinging his toga about him with a lordly gesture.

The pirates laughed as he left them.

"What a fool the man is!" said Spartaco scoffingly. "He is all words. Never hath he told us of anything he himself hath done."

"I told him as much," said Syrus. "I doubt not he would turn sick to see a man killed. To talk of crucifying us!"

On other occasions Cæsar delivered orations to the pirates, and even recited some of his poems to them. He saw, indeed, that they had no appreciation for anything so strange to their way of life as oratory and poetry; but his masterful and imperious character, which knew no fear of their brutal natures, caused him to impress himself upon them in this way. And so great a mixture of pleasantry and mastery was in his bearing to these men that some began to feel the charm which in later years he exercised so powerfully over his rough soldiers in Spain and Gaul. Micio in particular felt a kind of devotion for this fearless and wonderful stranger, and often went aside to speak to Cæsar, who treated him with the haughty familiarity which a great man might show for a freedman or favourite slave.

Once Micio put to him the question which had been exercising his mind ever since the day on which the pirate leaders had talked about the sacking of temples.

"Do you think, Cæsar," he said, "that the old gods still have power to avenge themselves upon those who insult or injure them? As for me," Micio went on truculently, "I fear them not. Mithras the Bull-God is strong enough for me."

"Why do you ask, then, my friend?" asked Cæsar, with a little smile.

"Oh," was the answer, "some have said that men who have sacked temples have been slain by the gods whose fanes they had destroyed.

"Have you sacked a temple?"

"I have," replied Micio, assuming a look of ferocity designed to impress his listener with a sense of his

utter fearlessness of things both human and divine.

Cæsar glanced at the man as he sat in his soiled and ragged tunic, with bare legs and feet thrust into rough leather boots. Micio had a heavy gold chain about his red, hairy neck and bosom, and thick rings in his ears. A kerchief was tied round his unkempt locks, and his face, tanned a deep red by wind and sun, wore the look of mingled craft and brutality which was common to all the pirates.

"Whose temple have you polluted, barbarian?" asked the patrician.

"We sacked the temple of Venus at Samos," was the reply, "slit the throats of the priests and priestesses, and emptied the treasury. Then we sent up the temple in fire and smoke—all that would burn!"

"You destroyed the temple of Venus at Samos!" repeated Cæsar, and his tone had something of the mercilessness of a judge giving sentence, so that Micio was stirred in spite of his air of bravado. "Of a surety the goddess will avenge herself—rest assured that you shall not escape!"

Cæsar rose from his seat and withdrew without another word. For a little while Micio sat silent, his superstitious mind chilled by the pronouncement of doom as from the lips of an oracle. He recovered himself in a little while and laughed awkwardly.

A few days later, in the early morning, a galley was sighted coming from Miletus. The first man who jumped into the surf when the ship was pulled up the shore was Cæsar's chief freedman, Gallo, who, running up to his master, bowed to him and said:

"*Domine*, the tale of fifty talents is complete. It is in the hands of the lord Valerius Torquatus, the legate at Miletus. Shall I prepare my lord for his immediate departure from here?"

"Tell the pirate, Spartaco, that my ransom waits for him," replied Cæsar in an undisturbed manner, "and then come to me."

Within an hour the three galleys were under way to Miletus, crammed with men. The first contained Cæsar and his friend Cinna, together with the freed-man Gallo and the two slaves, Cotta and Milo. All except Cæsar himself showed great joy in at length finding themselves on their way to liberty again. They had been thirty-eight days with the pirates, so hard a task had it been for Gallo and the other slaves of Cæsar to collect the sum of fifty talents. The property both of Cæsar and his wife Cornelia had been confiscated by Sulla, who was then tyrant at Rome; but Cæsar had many rich kinsmen and friends.

Throughout the preparation for departure Cæsar had sat silent on the poop of the galley, gazing upon the line of shore, from which they were now receding, as if trying to fix the appearance of the creeks and the cliffs upon his memory.

Spartaco and his two lieutenants came upon the poop. They were in high glee at the prospect of receiving so large a sum for their captive, but though Spartaco did not anticipate any trick, it had ever been his habit in these cases to make every assurance. He had known of pirates who had been lured to a place at which a ransom was to be paid, only to be fallen upon and overwhelmed by forces in hiding. For this

reason he had brought with him all his men, well armed; and the money was to be handed to him on the governor's galley, at a point on the open sea outside the harbour of Miletus.

"You cannot say I have not treated you well, Cæsar, said Spartaco, with a rough laugh. "Fifty talents in a lump do not often come the way of a poor corsair, but I think I and my fellows have treated you like a king."

"I will see that your kind treatment of me does not benefit you if ever you come before the judge at Pergamum," was the smiling reply. "No word from me shall keep you from the cross."

"You will have your jest," said Spartaco, with a laugh. "Look you, if you ever happen to fall into my hands again I promise you I'll raise your ransom—'twill be seventy-five talents next time, for the sharp tongue you give us!"

Syrus and Micio laughed heartily: this was paying the Roman lord back in his own coin.

"There's the legate's galley!" said Spartaco, and cast keen eyes about the sea and away to the white bar of the harbour, against which the sea tossed up its jewelled waters, flashing in the sunlight. But there were only a few fishing-vessels here and there, and no armed galley threw back the sun's rays from its gleaming beak of bronze.

The formality was soon over: Spartaco, with a body-guard, went aboard the galley of the legate, or governor, and the gold coins were counted out and taken in bags to the little boat bobbing at the side. The governor, a stout old Roman with a rubicund

face, stood waiting impatiently while the money was being counted, and when this was finished Spartaco yelled through his hands to Micio on the first pirate galley to put Cæsar and his people in a boat and row them across. This was done with alacrity, and in a little while Cæsar stepped on board the governor's vessel.

Exiled from Rome in this outlandish province as he had been for some years, Valerius, the governor, knew little of affairs in the great city. He had never heard of Cæsar, but had supposed he was one of the old rich senators who had more wealth than wide renown. His surprise was great, therefore, when a young man of about twenty-three came toward him, dressed in a foppish fashion. Valerius welcomed him heartily, however, for his respect was according to the enormous amount of ransom which had been paid. As Cæsar stepped aboard Spartaco leaped into his own boat, and without further delay the beak of the governor's galley was turned shoreward, and the vessel was soon racing toward the meal for which the old governor had been impatiently waiting.

Valerius invited his guest to dine with him when they should reach his villa at Miletus in an hour.

"I thank you," replied Cæsar, "but I shall not dine to-day. I will ask you to lend me four galleys and all the good fighting men you can command."

Valerius hesitated. "What do you want them for?"

"I will pay you three talents for the loan of them," replied Cæsar, "and you shall have both galleys, and men back without much loss."

"If you think to take those pirates—" began Valerius.

"I do not think about it," replied Cæsar in a polite but firm tone. "I am going to take those rascals, every one of them, and string them up like crows along the coast to scare other dirty rascals away."

Valerius had long passed his fighting days: he was all for well-cooked meals and Greek wines now; but he knew a masterful man when he saw one, and without another word he submitted. Who was he to resist the will of this young patrician, with, so far as Valerius knew, powerful friends at Rome, and who, at any rate, was one for whom fifty talents had been paid? He agreed, therefore, to place under Cæsar the command of four galleys and five hundred soldiers, two hundred of whom were tried fighting men of his own guard, the others being native auxiliaries.

"And suppose you succeed in taking those desperate rascals," said Valerius, "—but I don't promise that you will find it an easy task—what do you propose to do with them?"

"I will bring them here and ask you to put every one to death," was the reply.

"And do you think that will do me any good?" asked Valerius angrily. "I shall have all my merchants railing at me. As it is, they pay their tribute to this Spartaco and their galleys go free. If you crucify him as big a rogue will come and take his place, and my merchants will have to pay more blackmail."

"I am sorry to threaten these pleasing commercial arrangements," said Cæsar, with a cynical smile. "Then I will save you the trouble of punishing these

friends of your merchants, and I will take them to Pergamum."

"Do that, and I shall be well pleased," replied Valerius, his good-humour returning. "Let Junius the prætor have the bother. Besides, he alone has rightly the power of life and death."

After a few more words Cæsar parted from the governor, the latter being glad to see the back of this young man who wished to disturb the comfortable relations existing between the merchants of Miletus and the pirates who patrolled that part of the coast.

Meanwhile the pirates, having returned to the island, were deep in a great carouse to celebrate the rich haul which they had so easily made. Much heady wine was drunk, boastful speeches were made, and song and jest sped the pleasant time. Even the look-out men on the highest point of the rocks had joined in the festivity and no watch was kept upon the sea. When, therefore, with the suddenness of a tempest out of the summer sky men rushed upon them from behind the rocks the half-drunken pirates were able to make but little resistance against what were found to be overwhelming numbers. Those who attempted to fight were cut down; the others were surrounded and ordered to throw down their arms.

"Who commands you?" yelled Spartaco, rocking as he stood, impotent rage in his voice.

From behind a group of soldiers came the tall, slender figure of Cæsar, smiling, but with a cold glitter in his eyes.

Spartaco started; then he cursed vehemently for a while, and after that was silent. Micio looked

gloomily at Cæsar, and then with drunken gravity he turned to Spartaco and shook his head sagely.

"He said he'd crucify us, and—and so he will!" he ejaculated.

Surrounded by the soldiers, who stood with drawn swords ready to cut down any pirate who ventured to break away or to resist, the rascals were pinioned and then were thrust into the bottom of the galleys. Only a few had escaped by flight into the inner part of the island when the surprise had come, and the number taken amounted to about three hundred and fifty. Cæsar also recovered the whole of the fifty talents which had formed his ransom.

When all were aboard Cæsar ordered the pirate galleys to be stove in and sunk in deep water; after which, setting sail before a favourable wind, he speedily made his way to Pergamum, where dwelled the prætor, or governor-general, of the province of Asia Minor.

Arrived there, he found that the prætor was away on circuit with his principal officers, judging causes in various towns. Cæsar saw his captives safely lodged in the prison in the city, though its capacity was strained to accommodate them all, and then, placing over them a guard from among the soldiers of Valerius for additional security, he set out to find Junius, who was somewhere in the east of the province.

After a little search he succeeded in finding the prætor, and having presented himself before him, he related all that had occurred. Junius, an austere, crafty-looking person, said little while the tale was being told, but on learning that Cæsar had recovered

the fifty talents besides other booty which had been seized and stored by the pirates, his eyes gleamed greedily. When his narrative was ended Cæsar said:

"Now, Junius, I have promised these rogues that they shall be crucified. Will you give me your letters directing your legate at Pergamum to execute them?"

Junius looked sourly at Cæsar, and his shifty eyes glanced up and down this masterful young man who wished to direct the prætor of a province as to what he should do. He knew that the young patrician was a scion of the Julian clan, and that he had powerful and rich friends, though at present he was hiding from possible death at the hands of the dictator, Sulla. All this, however, weighed but little with Junius; the most important thing to his greedy prætorial soul was how to obtain for himself most of the fifty talents and the spoil captured with the pirates. Like most other prætors, he had come to his province resolved to take from it all the riches he could lay his hands upon, and his fingers itched to touch the pirates' treasure.

"The matter must take its proper course," replied Junius. "Such a case must be decided with all due formalities. It must await my return to Pergamum. Meanwhile I will send a messenger with orders to my legate, Minicius, to guard the pirates and their booty with all care."

Cæsar had quickly perceived what had been passing in the mind of Junius, whose face, for all his craftiness, easily betrayed his thoughts to an observant eye. He pretended to fall in with the prætor's opinion and passed the matter off carelessly. He stayed chatting a little while on indifferent topics, so as to make it

appear that the business had no real interest for him. When, however, he had taken his leave he instantly ordered his freedman to bring the horses, and without waiting for food he left the place and took the road back to Pergamum.

His decision was already taken. The man who in later years in Gaul was to slaughter thousands of barbarians without mercy took little account of the execution of two or three hundred robbers. He reached Pergamum in the middle of the next day, and after a hurried meal he gave instructions to the soldiers on guard as to what was to be done. That same afternoon most of the robbers were slain in prison: one by one they were ordered to come out into a small enclosure, and as each man turned a certain sharp corner soldiers stabbed him.

Some thirty of the chief pirates were reserved for a more formal death. These included Spartaco, Micio, and Syrus, together with others whom Cæsar had noticed to be men of more forceful character. He had these brought out and told them what he purposed doing.

"You are malefactors," he said sternly; "your lives are forfeit to the State for many crimes of murder, robbery, and violence, and you shall now meet with your due reward. You deserve, indeed, to be crucified and to hang upon the wood until you shall miserably die from hunger and your wounds. But as I have known you and dwelled with you I will grant you this grace: you shall be crucified, but you will not be hung upon the cross alive."

The men glared at him sullenly. Death was so

near to every violent man in those hard days that it had little terror for him. Some cursed him and looked about them as if they would dearly like to make one last fight for life, but the ranks of stern soldiery with wet swords in their hands gave them no hope.

"I little reckoned you were so strong a man of your word," said Micio at length. "You seemed too much the dandy, you were too clean and choice in your manners. Ah, would that I had known! I would have strangled you as you sat smiling at us. But, now, see here, Cæsar," he went on, with a mocking laugh, "I prove your words to be lying words. You said that of a surety Venus would punish me with death for having violated her temple. How now can she punish me?"

"You have not escaped the vengeance of the goddess," said Cæsar sternly. "I am of the Julian clan—of the race that has sprung from the goddess. Through me, then, she works her vengeance upon you!"

When the sun, dipping his golden face in the hyacinthine sea, shone that evening with level beams along the waves and the shore his rays threw thirty long shadows across the fields beyond the strand. The dead bodies of Spartaco and twenty-nine of his comrades hung upon the gaunt, high crosses, their sightless eyes looking at the sinking sun.

Next morning Cæsar took galley, and, resuming his interrupted journey, he went on his way to Rhodes, where, placing himself under the instruction of Apollonius Molo, the great orator, he perfected himself day by day in the arts of public speaking.

LIMAHON THE ROVER

[From "Purchas His Pilgrimes," by SAMUEL PURCHAS]

THE Spaniards did enjoy their neere habitation of Manilla in great quietnesse & in obedience unto the Christian King Don Philip, and in continuall Traffick with the Chinois. But being in this securitie and quietnesse, unlooked for, they were beset with a mightie and great Armada or Fleet of ships, by the Rover Limahon, of whose vocation they are continually on the Coast, the one by reason that the Countrey is full of people, whereas of necessitie must be many idle persons: and the other and principall occasion, by reason of the great tyrannie that the Governours doe use unto the Subjects. This Limahon came upon them with intent to doe them harme as you shall understand. This Rover was borne in the Citie of Trucheo, in the Province of Cuytan, which the Portugals doe call Catim. He was of meane Parentage, and brought up in his youth in libertie and vice, he was by nature Warlike and evill inclined. He would learne no Occupation, but was given to rob in the high-ways, and became so expert that many came unto him and followed that Trade. Hee made himselfe Captaine over them which were more than two thousand, and were so strong that they were feared in all that Province where as they were. This being knowne unto the King and to his Councell, they did straight way command the Vice-roy of the Province whereas the Rover was, that with all the haste pos-

sible he should gather together all the Garrisons of his Frontiers, to apprehend and take him, and if it were possible to carry him alive unto the Citie of Taybin, if not his head. The Vice-roy incontinent did gather together people necessary, and in great haste to follow him.

The which being knowne unto Limahon the Rover, who saw, that with the people hee had, he was not able to make resistance against so great a number as they were, and the eminent danger that was therein, hee called together his Companies, and went from thence unto a Port of the Sea, that was a few leagues from that place: and did it so quickly and in such secret, that before the people that dwelt therein, could make any defence (for that they were not accustomed to any such assaults, but lived in great quietnesse) they were Lords of the Port, and of all such ships as were there: into the which they embarked themselves straight-wayes, weighed Anchor and departed to the Sea, whereas they thought to be in more securitie then on the Land (as it was true). Then he seeing himselfe Lord of all those Seas, beganne to rob and spoyle all ships that hee could take, as well strangers as of the naturall people: by which means in a small time he was provided of Mariners, and other things which before hee lacked, requisite for that new Occupation. He sacked, robbed and spoyled all the Townes that were upon the Coast, and did very much harme. So hee finding himselfe very strong with fortie ships well armed, of those he had out of the Port, and other that hee had taken at the Sea, with much people such as were without shame, their hands imbrued with Rob-

beries and killing of men, he imagined with himselfe to attempt greater matters, and did put it in execution: he assaulted great Townes, and did a thousand cruelties. So he following this trade and exercise, he chanced to meete with another Rover as himselfe, called Vintoquian, likewise naturally borne in China, who was in a Port void of any care or mistrust, whereas Limahon finding opportunitie, with greater courage did fight with the ships of the other: that although they were threescore ships great and small, and good Souldiers therein, he did overcome them, and tooke five and fiftie of their ships, so that Vintoquian escaped with five ships. Then Limahon seeing himselfe with a fleet of ninetie five ships well armed. and with many stout people in them, knowing that if they were taken, they should be all executed to death; setting all feare apart, gave themselves to attempt new inventions of evill, not onely in robbing of great Cities, but also in destroying of them.

For the which, commandement was given straight-ways unto the Vice-roy of that Province (whereas he used to execute his evill) that with great expedition he might be taken, who in few dayes did set forth to Sea, one hundred and thirtie great ships well appointed, with fortie thousand men in them, and one made Generall over them all, a Gentleman called Omoncon, for to goe seeke and follow this Rover with expresse commandement to apprehend or kill him. Of all this provision, Limahon had advertisement by some secret friends, who seeing that his Enemies were many, and he not able to countervaile them, neither in shippes nor men, determined not to abide their com-

ming, but to retyre and depart from that Coast: so in flying he came unto an Iland in secret, called Tonzna-caotican, which was fortie leagues from the firme Land, and is in the right way of Navigation to the Ilands Philippinas.

From this Iland they did goe forth with some of their ships robbing and spoyling all such as they met with Merchandize, and other things that they carried from one Iland to another, and from the Iland unto the firme,¹ and comming from thence amongst them all, they caused to take two ships of China which came from Manilla, and were bound to their owne Countrey. And having them in their power, they searched them under hatches, and found that they had rich things of Gold, and Spanish Rials, which they had in trucke of their Merchandize, the which they carried to the Ilands. They informed themselves in all points of the State, and fertilitie of that Countrey, but in particular of the Spaniards, and how many there were of them in the Citie of Manilla, who were not at that present above seventie persons, for that the rest were separated in the discovering and populing of other Ilands newly found, and understanding that these few did live without any suspition of Enemies, and had never a Fort nor Bulwarke, and the Ordnance which they had (although it was very good) yet was it not in order to defend them nor offend their Enemies, hee determined to goe thither with all his fleete and people, for to destroy and kill them, and to make himselfe Lord of the said Iland of Manilla, and other adjacent there nigh the same. So with this determina-

¹ Mainland.

tion hee departed from those Ilands whereas hee was retyred, and went to Sea, and sayling towards the Ilands Philippinas, they passed in sight of the Ilands of the Illocos, which had a Towne called Fernandina, which was new founded by the Captayne John de Salzedo, who at that instant was in the same for Lieutenant to the Governour: Foure leagues from the same they met with a small Galley, which the said John de Salzedo had sent for victuals. He cast about towards her, and with great ease did take her, and did burne and kill all that was in her, and pardoned one of them. This being done, hee did prosecute his Voyage according unto his determination, and passed alongst, but not in such secret but that he was discovered by the Dwellers of the Towne of Fernandina, who gave notice thereof unto the Lieutenant of the Governour aforesaid, as a wonder to see so many ships together, and a thing never seene before at those Ilands. Likewise it caused admiration unto him, and made him to thinke and to imagine with great care what it might be, he saw that they did beare with the Citie of Manilla, and thought with himself, that so great a fleet as that was, could not goe to the place which they bare in with, for any goodnesse towards the dwellers therein, who were voide of all care, and a small number of people, as aforesaid: Wherewith he determined with himselfe with so great speed as it was possible, to joyne together such Spaniards as were there, which were to the number of fiftie foure, and to depart and procure to get the fore-hand of them, to advertise them of Manilla, and to aide and helpe them to put their Artillerie in order,

and all other things necessarie for their defence.

This Limahon was well provided of provision, and all other things necessarie, and having the wind faire, hee was alwaies in the fore-front, and came in the sight of Manilla upon Saint Andrewes Eve, in the yeere 1574, whereas hee came to an anchor that night with all his whole estate.

For all the contradiction of the winde this same night the foure hundred Chinois did put themselves within a league of the Citie, upon Saint Andrewes day at eight of the clocke in the morning, whereas they left their Boats and went on land, and in great haste began to march forwards in battel aray divided in two parts, with two hundred Harquebusses afore, and immediately after them other two hundred Pike-men: and by reason that they were many, and the Countrey very plaine, they were straightwaies discovered by some of the Citie, who entred in with a great noise, crying, Arme, arme, arme, the Enemies come. The which advice did little profit, for that there was none that would beleeeve them: but beleeeved that it was some false alarme done by the people of the Countrey for to mocke them. But in conclusion, the Enemies were come unto the house of the Generall of the Field, who was called Martin de Goyti, which was the first house in all the Citie that way which the Enemies came. And before that the Spaniards and Souldiers that were within the Towne could be fully perswaded the rumour to be true, the Enemies had set fire upon his house, and slue him and all that were within.

At this time, by the order of his Majestie was elected for Governour of these Ilands Philippinas,

Guido de Labacates, after the death of Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, who understanding the great fleet and power of Limahon the Rover, and the small resistance and defence that was in the Citie of Manilla, with as much speed as was possible he did call together all their Captaines and dwellers therein: and with a generall consent they spared no person of what qualitie and degree soever he was, but that his hand was to helpe all that was possible, the which endured two dayes and two nights, for so long the Rover kept his ships and came not abroad. In which time of their continuall labour, they made a Fort with Pipes and Boards filled with sand and other necessities thereto belonging, such as the time would permite them: they put in carriages, foure excellent Peeces of Artillerie that were in the Citie. All the which being put in order, they gathered all the people of the Citie into that little Fort. The night before the Enemie did give assault unto the Citie, came thither Captaine John de Salzedo, Lieutenant unto the Governour. The Rover in the morning following, before the breake of the day (which was the second after he gave the first assault) was with all his fleet right against the Port, and did put a-land sixe hundred Souldiers, who at that instant did set upon the Citie, the which at their pleasure they did sacke and burne. They did assault the Fort with great cruelty, as men fleshed with the last slaughter, thinking that their resistance was but small. But it fell not out as they did beleeeve, for having continued in the fight almost all the day, with the losse of two hundred men, that were slaine in the assault, and many other hurt, he straight-

waies departed from thence, and returned the same way that he came, till they arrived in a mightie River, fortie leagues from the Citie of Manilla, that is called Pangasinan, the which place or soyle did like him very well, and where he thought he might be sure from them, who by the commandement of the King went for to seeke him. There hee determined to remayne, and to make himselfe Lord over all that Countrey, the which he did with little travell, and built himselfe a Fort one league within the River, where as he remained certaine dayes, receiving tribute of the Inhabitants thereabouts, as though he were their true and naturall Lord: and at times went forth with his ships robbing and spoyling all that he met upon the coast. And spred abroad, that he had taken to himselfe the Ilands Philippinas, and how that all the Spaniards that were in them, were either slayne or fled away. With this consideration they entred into counsell, and did determine to joyne together all the people they could, and being in good order, to follow and seeke the Rover. Then the Governours commanded to be called together all the people bordering thereabouts, and to come unto the Citie whereas hee was. Likewise at that time hee did give advice unto such as were Lords and Governours of the Ilands, called Pintados, commanding them to come thither, with such ships as they could spare, as well Spaniards as the naturall people of the Countrey. The Generall of the field with the people aforesaid, did depart from Manilla the three and twentieth day of March, Anno 1575, and arrived at the mouth of the River Pagansinan upon tenable Wednesday in the morning next following, without being discovered of any. Then straight-

waies at that instant the Generall did put a-land all his people and foure Peeces of Artillerie, leaving the mouth of the River shut up with his shipping, in chayning the one to the other, in such sort, that none could enter in neither yet goe forth to give any advice unto the Rover of his arrivall: he commanded some to goe and discover the fleet of the Enemie, and the place whereas he was fortified, and charged them very much to doe it in such secret sort, that they were not espied: for therein consisted all their whole worke. Hee commanded the Captaine Gabriel de Ribera, that straightwaies he should depart by Land, and that upon a sudden he should strike alarme upon the Enemie, with the greatest tumult that was possible. Likewise he commanded the Captaines Pedro de Caves and Lorenzo Chacon, that either of them with forty Souldiers should goe up the River in small ships and light, and to measure the time in such sort, that as well those that went by land, as those that went by water, should at one instant come upon the Fort, and to give alarme both together, the better to goe thorow with their pretence: and he himselfe did remayne with all the rest of the people, to watch occasion and time for to aide and succour them if need be required. This their purpose came so well to passe, that both the one and the other came to good effect: for those that went by water, did set fire on all the fleet of the Enemie: and those that went by land at that instant had taken and set fire on a Trench made of timber, that Limahon had caused to bee made for the defence of his people and the Fort: and with that furie they slue more than one hundred Chinos, and tooke prisoners seventy women which they found in the same Trench, but

when that Limahon understood the rumour, hee tooke himselfe straightwaies to his Fort which hee had made for to defend himselfe from the Kings Navie, if they should happen to finde him out.

The next day following, the Generall of the field did bring his Souldiers into a square battell, and beganne to march towards the Fort, with courage to assault it if occasion did serve thereunto: hee did pitch his Campe within two hundred paces of the Fort, and found that the Enemie did all that night fortifie himselfe very well, and in such sort, that it was perillous to assault him, for that he had placed upon his Fort three Peeces of Artillerie, and many Bases, besides other Engines of fire-worke. Seeing this, and that his Peeces of Artillerie that hee brought were very small for to batter, and little store of munition, for that they had spent all at the assault which the Rover did give them at Manilla, the Generall of the field, and the Captaines concluded amongst themselves, that seeing the Enemie had no ships to escape by water, neither had he any store of victuals for that all was burnt in the ships, it was the best and most surest way to besiege the Fort, and to remayne there in quiet untill that hunger did constraine them either to yeeld or come to some conclusion: which rather they will then to perish with hunger.

This determination was liked well of them all, although it fell out clean contrarie unto their expectation; for that in the space of three moneths that siege endured, this Limahon did so much that within the Fort he made certaine small Barkes, and trimmed them in the best manner he could, wherewith in one night he and all his people escaped.

GALLEYS AND GALLEY-SLAVES

[From "The Story of the Barbary Corsairs," by
STANLEY LANE-POOLE]

“**T**HE Corsairs,” says Haedo, “are those who support themselves by continual sea-robberies; and, admitting that among their numbers some of them are natural Turks, Moors, &c., yet the main body of them are renegadoes from every part of Christendom; all who are extremely well acquainted with the Christian coasts.” It is a singular fact that the majority of these plunderers of Christians were themselves born in the Faith. In the long list of Algerine viceroys, we meet with many a European. Barbarossa himself was born in Lesbos, probably of a Greek mother. His successor was a Sardinian; soon afterwards a Corsican became pasha of Algiers, then another Sardinian; Ochiali was a Calabrian; Ramadān came from Sardinia, and was succeeded by a Venetian, who in turn gave place to a Hungarian, who made room for an Albanian. In 1588 the thirty-five galleys or galleots of Algiers were commanded by eleven Turks and twenty-four renegades, including nations of France, Venice, Genoa, Sicily, Naples, Spain, Greece, Calabria, Corsica, Albania, and Hungary, and a Jew. In short, up to

nearly the close of the sixteenth century (but much more rarely afterwards) the chiefs of the Corsairs and the governors were commonly drawn from Christian lands. Some of them volunteered—and to the outlaws of Europe the command of a Barbary galley was perhaps the only congenial resort;—but most of them were captives seized as children, and torn from their homes in some of the Corsairs' annual raids upon Corsica and Sardinia and the Italian or Dalmatian coasts. Most of such prisoners were condemned to menial and other labour, unless ransomed; but the bolder and handsomer boys were often picked out by the penetrating eye of the reïs, and once chosen the young captive's career was established.

“While the Christians with their galleys are at repose, sounding their trumpets in the harbours, and very much at their ease regaling themselves, passing the day and night in banqueting, cards, and dice, the Corsairs at pleasure are traversing the east and west seas, without the least fear or apprehension, as free and absolute sovereigns thereof. Nay, they roam them up and down no otherwise than do such as go in chase of hares for their diversion. They here snap up a ship laden with gold and silver from India, and there another richly fraught from Flanders; now they make prize of a vessel from England, then of another from Portugal. Here they board and lead away one from Venice, then one from Sicily, and a little further on they swoop down upon others from Naples, Livorno, or Genoa, all of them abundantly crammed with great and wonderful riches. And at other times carrying with them as guides, renegadoes (of which

there are in Algiers vast numbers of all Christian nations, nay, the generality of the Corsairs are no other than renegadoes, and all of them exceedingly well acquainted with the coasts of Christendom, and even within the land), they very deliberately, even at noon-day, or indeed just when they please, leap ashore, and walk on without the least dread, and advance into the country, ten, twelve, or fifteen leagues or more; and the poor Christians, thinking themselves secure, are surprised unawares; many towns, villages, and farms sacked; and infinite numbers of souls, men, women, children, and infants at the breast, dragged away into a wretched captivity. With these miserable ruined people, loaded with their own valuable substance, they retreat leisurely, with eyes full of laughter and content, to their vessels. In this manner, as is too well known, they have utterly ruined and destroyed Sardinia, Corsica, Sicily, Calabria, the neighbourhoods of Naples, Rome, and Genoa, all the Balearic islands, and the whole coast of Spain: in which last more particularly they feast it as they think fit, on account of the Moriscos who inhabit there; who being all more zealous Mohammedans than are the very Moors born in Barbary, they receive and caress the Corsairs, and give them notice of whatever they desire to be informed of. Insomuch that before these Corsairs have been absent from their abodes much longer than perhaps twenty or thirty days, they return home rich, with their vessels crowded with captives, and ready to sink with wealth; in one instant, and with scarce any trouble, reaping the fruits of all that the avaricious Mexican and greedy Peruvian have

been digging from the bowels of the earth with such toil and sweat, and the thirsty merchant with such manifest perils has for so long been scraping together, and has been so many thousand leagues to fetch away, either from the east or west, with inexpressible danger and fatigue. Thus they have crammed most of the houses, the magazines, and all the shops of this Den of Thieves with gold, silver, pearls, amber, spices, drugs, silks, cloths, velvets, &c., whereby they have rendered this city the most opulent in the world: inso-much that the Turks call it, not without reason, their India, their Mexico, their Peru.”¹

One has some trouble in realizing the sort of navigation employed by Corsairs. We must disabuse our minds of all ideas of tall masts straining under a weight of canvas, sail above sail. The Corsairs' vessels were long narrow row-boats, carrying indeed a sail or two, but depending for safety and movement mainly upon the oars. The boats were called galleys, galleots, brigantines (“*galleotas ligeras o vergātines*,” or *frigatas*), &c., according to their size: a galleot is a small galley, while a brigantine may be called a quarter galley. The number of men to each oar varies, too, according to the vessel's size: a galley may have as many as four to six men working side by side to each oar, a galleot but two or three, and a brigantine one; but in so small a craft as the last each man must be a fighter as well as an oarsmen, whereas the larger vessels of the Corsairs were rowed entirely by Christian slaves.

The galley is the type of all these vessels, and those

¹ HAEDO, quoted by MORGAN, 593-4.

who are curious about the minutest details of building and equipping galleys need only consult Master Joseph Furttenbach's *Architectura Navalis: Das ist, Von dem Schiff-Gebraw, auf dem Meer und Seekusten zu gebrauchen*," printed in the town of Ulm, in the Holy Roman Empire, by Jonam Saur, in 1629. Any one could construct a galley from the numerous plans and elevations and sections and finished views in this interesting and precise work.¹ Furttenbach is an enthusiastic admirer of a ship's beauties, and he had seen all varieties; for his trade took him to Venice, where he had a galleasse,² and he had doubtless viewed many a Corsair fleet, since he could remember the battle of Lepanto and the death of Ochiali. His zeal runs clean away with him when he describes a *stolo*, or great flagship (*capitanea galea*) of Malta in her pomp and dignity and lordliness, as she rides the seas

¹ Hardly less valuable is Adm. JURIEN DE LA GRAVIÈRE's *Les Derniers Fours de la Marine à Rames* (Paris, 1885). It contains an admirable account of the French galley system, the mode of recruiting, discipline, and general management; a description of the different classes of vessels, and their manner of navigation; while a learned Appendix of over one hundred pages describes the details of galley-building, finishing, fitting, and rigging, and everything that the student need wish to learn. The chapters (ix. and x.) on *Navigation à la rame* and *Navigation à la voile*, are particularly worth reading by those who would understand sixteenth and seventeenth century seamanship.

² A galleasse was originally a large heavy galley, three-masted, and fitted with a rudder, since its bulk compelled it to trust to sails as well as oars. It was a sort of transition-ship, between the galley and the galleon, and as time went on it became more and more of a sailing ship. It had high bulwarks, with loopholes for muskets, and there was at least a partial cover for the crew. The Portuguese galleys in the Spanish Armada mounted each 110 soldiers and 222 galley-slaves; but the Neapolitan galleasses carried 700 men, of whom 130 were sailors, 270 soldiers, and 300 slaves of the oar. JURIEN DE LA GRAVIÈRE, *Les Derniers Jours de la Marine à Rames*, 65-7.

to the rhythmical beat of her many oars, or "easies" with every blade suspended motionless above the waves like the wings of a poised falcon. A galley such as this is "a princely, nay, a royal and imperial *vassello di remo*," and much the most suitable, he adds, for the uses of peace and war in the Mediterranean Sea. A galley may be 180 or 190 spans long—Furttendach measures a ship by *palmi*, which varied from nine to ten inches in different places in Italy,—say 150 feet, the length of an old seventy-four frigate, but with hardly a fifth of its cubit contents—and its greatest beam is 25 spans broad. The Genoese and Venetians set the models of these vessels, and the Italian terms were generally used in all European navigation till the northern nations took the lead in sailing ships. These sails are often clewed up, however, for the mariner of the sixteenth century was ill-practised in the art of tacking, and very fearful of losing sight of land for long, so that unless he had a wind fair astern he preferred to trust to his oars. A short deck at the prow and poop serve, the one to carry the fightingmen and trumpeters and yardsmen, and to provide cover for the four guns, the other to accommodate the knights and gentlemen, and especially the admiral or captain, who sits at the stern under a red damask canopy embroidered with gold, surveying the crew, surrounded by the chivalry of "the Religion," whose white cross waves on the taffety standard over their head, and shines upon various pennants and burgees aloft. Behind, overlooking the roof of the poop, stands the pilot who steers the ship by the tiller in his hand.

Between the two decks, in the ship's waist, is the propelling power: fifty-four benches or banks, twenty-seven a side, support each four or five slaves, whose whole business in life is to tug at the fifty-four oars. This flagship is a Christian vessel, so the rowers are either Turkish and Moorish captives, or Christian convicts. If it were a Corsair, the rowers would all be Christian prisoners. In earlier days the galleys were rowed by freemen, and so late as 1500 the Moors of Algiers pulled their own brigantines to the attack of Spanish villages, but their boats were light, and a single man could pull the oar. Two or three were needed for a galleot, and as many sometimes as six for each oar of a large galley. It was impossible to induce freemen to toil at the oar, sweating close together, for hour after hour—not sitting, but leaping on the bench, in order to throw their whole weight on the oar. "Think of six men chained to a bench, naked as when they were born, one foot on the stretcher, the other on the bench in front, holding an immensely heavy oar [fifteen feet long], bending forwards to the stern with arms at full reach to clear the backs of the rowers in front, who bend likewise; and then having got forward, shoving up the oar's end to let the blade catch the water, then throwing their bodies back on to the groaning bench. A galley oar sometimes pulls thus for ten, twelve, or even twenty hours without a moment's rest. The boatswain, or other sailor, in such a stress, puts a piece of bread steeped in wine in the wretched rower's mouth to stop fainting, and then the captain shouts the order to redouble the lash. If a slave falls exhausted upon his

oar (which often chances) he is flogged till he is taken for dead, and then pitched unceremoniously into the sea." ¹

Those who have not seen a galley at sea, especially in chasing or being chased, cannot well conceive the shock such a spectacle must give to a heart capable of the least tincture of commiseration. To behold ranks and files of half-naked, half-starved, half-tanned meagre wretches, chained to a plank, from whence they remove not for months together (commonly half a year), urged on, even beyond human strength, with cruel and repeated blows on their bare flesh, to an incessant continuation of the most violent of all exercises; and this for whole days and nights successively, which often happens in a furious chase, when one party, like vultures, is hurried on almost as eagerly after their prey, as is the weaker party hurried away in hopes of preserving life and liberty.

Sometimes a galley-slave worked as long as twenty years, sometimes for all his miserable life, at this fearful calling. The poor creatures were chained so close together in their narrow bench—a sharp cut was the characteristic of the galley—that they could not sleep at full length. Sometimes seven men (on French galleys, too, in the last century), had to live and sleep in a space ten feet by four. The whole ship was a sea of hopeless faces. And between the two lines of rowers ran the bridge, and on it stood two boatswains (*comiti*) armed with long whips, which they laid on to the bare backs of the rowers with merciless severity. Furttenbach gives a picture of the

¹ So says Jean Marteille de Bergerac, a galley-slave about 1701.

two boatswains in grimly humorous verse: how they stand,

Beclad, belaced, betrimmed, with many knots bespick;
 Embroidered, padded, tied; all feathers and all flap;
 Curly, and queued, equipped, curious of hood and cap:

and how they "ever stolidly smite" the crew with the bastinado,

Or give them a backward prod in the naked flesh as they ply,
 With the point that pricks like a goad, when "powder and shot" is the cry;

in order to send the Turks to Davy's wet locker:—

As John of Austria nipped them and riddled them with ball,
 As soon as his eyes fell on them, and ducked or slaughtered them all;

and how the boatswain's dreaded whistle shrieked through the ship:—

For they hearken to such a blast through all the swish and sweat,

Through rattle and rumpus and raps, and the kicks and cuffs that they get,

Through the chatter and tread, and the rudder's wash, and the dismal clank

Of the shameful chain which forever binds the slave to the bank.

To this may be added Captain Pantero Pantera's description of the boatswain's demeanour: "He should appear kindly towards the crew: assist it, pet it, but without undue familiarity; be, in short, its guardian and in some sort its father, remembering that, when all's said, 'tis human flesh, and human flesh in direst misery."

This terrible living grave of a galley, let us remember, is depicted from Christian models. A hundred and fifty years ago such scenes might be witnessed on many a European vessel. The Corsairs of Algiers only served their enemies as they served them: their galley slaves were no worse treated, to say the least, than were Doria's or the King of France's own. Rank and delicate nurture were respected on neither side: a gallant Corsair like Dragut had to drag his chain and pull his insatiable oar like any convict at the treadmill, and a future grand master of Malta might chance to take his seat on the rowing bench beside commonest scoundrel of Naples. No one seemed to observe the horrible brutality of the service, where each man, let him be never so refined, was compelled to endure the filth and vermin of his neighbour who might be half a savage and was bound to become wholly one; and when Madame de Grignan wrote an account of a visit to a galley, her friend Madame de Sévigné replied that she would "much like to see this sort of Hell," and the men "groaning day and night under the weight of their chains." *Autres temps, autres mœurs!*

Furttenbach tells us much more about the galley; and how it was rigged out with brilliant cloths on the bulworks on fête-days; how the biscuit was made to last six or eight months, each slave getting twenty-eight ounces thrice a week, and a spoonful of some mess of rice or bones or green stuff; of the trouble of keeping the water-cans under the benches full and fairly fresh. The full complement of a large galley included, he says, besides about 270 rowers, and the

captain, chaplain, doctor, scrivener, boatswains, and master, or pilot, ten or fifteen gentlemen adventurers, friends of the captain, sharing his mess, and berthed in the poop; twelve helmsmen (*timonieri*), six fore-top A.B's., ten warders for the captives, twelve ordinary seamen, four gunners, a carpenter, smith, cooper, and a couple of cooks, together with fifty or sixty soldiers; so that the whole equipage of a fighting-galley must have reached a total of about four hundred men.¹

What is true of a European galley is also generally applicable to a Barbary galleot, except that the latter was generally smaller and lighter, and had commonly but one mast, and no castle on the prow. The Algerines preferred fighting on galleots of eighteen to twenty-four banks of oars, as more manageable than larger ships. The crew of about two hundred men was very densely packed, and about one hundred soldiers armed with muskets, bows, and scimitars occupied the poop. Haedo has described the general system of the Corsairs as he knew it at the close of the sixteenth century, and his account, here summarized, holds good for earlier and somewhat later periods:—

These vessels are perpetually building or repairing at Algiers; the builders are all Christians, who have a monthly pay from the Treasury of six, eight, or ten quarter-dollars, with a daily allowance of three loaves of the same bread with the Turkish soldiery, who have four. Some of the upper rank of these masters have six and even eight of these loaves; nor has any

¹ In 1630 a French galley's company consisted of 250 forçats and 116 officers, soldiers, and sailors.

of their workmen, as carpenters, caulkers, coopers, oar-makers, smiths, &c., fewer than three. The *Beylik*, or common magazine, never wants slaves of all useful callings, "nor is it probable that they should ever have a scarcity of such while they are continually bringing in incredible numbers of Christians of all nations." The captains, too, have their private artificer slaves, whom they buy for high prices and take with them on the cruise, and hire them out to help the *Beylik* workmen when ashore.

The number of vessels possessed at any one time by the Algerines appears to have never been large. Barbarossa and Dragut were content with small squadrons. Ochiali had but fifteen Algerine galleys at Lepanto. Hadeo says that the close of the sixteenth century (1581) the Algerines possessed 36 galleots or galleys, made up of 3 of 24 banks, 1 of 23, 11 of 22, 8 of 20, 1 of 19, 10 of 18, and 2 of 15, and these were, all but 14, commanded by renegades. They had besides a certain number of brigantines of 14 banks, chiefly belonging to Moors at Shershêl. This agrees substantially with Father Dan's account (1634), who says that there were in 1588 thirty-five galleys or brigantines (he means galleots) of which all but eleven were commanded by renegades. Haedo gives the list of the 35 captains, from which the following names are selected: Ja'far the Pasha (Hungarian), Memi (Albanian), Murâd (French), Deli Memi (Greek), Murâd Reïs (Albanian), Feru Reïs (Genoese), Murâd Maltrapillo and Yûsuf (Spaniards), Memi Reïs and Memi Gancho (Venetians), Murâd the Less (Greek), Memi the Corsican,

Memi the Calabrian, Montez the Sicilian, and so forth, most of whom commanded galleys of 22 to 24 banks.

It was a pretty sight to see the launching of a galley. After the long months of labour, after felling the oak and pine in the forests of Shershêl, and carrying the fashioned planks on camels, mules, or their own shoulders some thirty miles to the seashore; or perhaps breaking up some unwieldly prize vessel taken from the Spaniards or Venetians; after all the sawing and fitting and caulking and painting; then at last comes the day of rejoicing for the Christian slaves who alone have done the work: for no Mussulman would offer to put a finger to the building of a vessel, saving a few Morisco oar-makers and caulkers. Then the *armadores*, or owners of the new galleot, as soon as it is finished, come down with presents of money and clothes, and hang them upon the mast and rigging, to the value of two hundred ducats, to be divided among their slaves, whose only pay till that day has been the daily loaves. Then again on the day of launching, after the vessel has been keeled over, and the bottom carefully greased from stem to stern, more presents from owners and captains to the workmen, to say nothing of a hearty dinner; and a great straining and shoving of brawny arms and bare backs, a shout of *Allahu Akbar*, "God is Most Great," as the sheep is slaughtered over the vessel's prow—a symbol, they said, of the Christian blood to be shed—and the galleot glides into the water prepared for her career of devastation: built by Christians and manned by Christians, commanded probably by a

quondam Christian, she sallies forth to prey upon Christendom.

The rowers, if possible, were all Christian slaves, belonging to the owners, but when these were not numerous enough, other slaves, or Arabs and Moors, were hired at ten ducats the trip, prize or no prize. If he was able, the captain (*Reïs*) would build and furnish out his own vessel, entirely at his own cost, in hope of greater profit; but often he had not the means, and then he would call in the aid of one or more *armadores*. These were often speculative shopkeepers, who invested in a part share of a galleot on the chance of a prize, and who often discovered that ruin lay in so hazardous a lottery. The complement of soldiers, whether volunteers (*levents*), consisting of Turks, renegades, or *Kuroghler* (*Kuloghler*)—i.e., *creoles*, natives, Turks born on the soil—or if these cannot be had, ordinary Moors, or Ottoman janisaries, varied with the vessel's size, but generally was calculated at two to each oar, because there was just room for two men to sit beside each bank of rowers: they were not paid unless they took a prize, nor were they supplied with anything more than biscuit, vinegar, and oil—everything else, even their blankets, they found themselves. The soldiers were under the command of their own Aga, who was entirely independent of the *Reïs* and formed an efficient check upon that officer's conduct. Vinegar and water, with a few drops of oil on the surface, formed the chief drink of the galley slaves, and their food was moistened biscuit or rusk, and an occasional mess of gruel (*burgol*): nor was this given out when hard

rowing was needed, for oars move slackly on a full stomach.

It was usual to consult an auguration book and a *marabut*, or saint, before deciding on a fortunate day for putting to sea, and these saints expected a share of the prize money. Fridays and Sundays were the favourite days for sailing; a gun is fired in honour of their tutelary patron; "God speed us!" shout the crew; "God send you a prize!" reply the crowd on the shore, and the galleot swiftly glides away on its destructive path. "The Algerines," says Haedo, "generally speaking, are out upon the cruise winter and summer, the whole year round; and so devoid of dread they roam these eastern and western seas, laughing all the while at the Christian galleys (which lie trumpetting, gaming, and banqueting in the ports of Christendom), neither more nor less than if they went a hunting hares and rabbits, killing here one and there another. Nay, far from being under apprehension, they are certain of their game; since their galleots are so extremely light and nimble, and in such excellent order, as they always are; ¹ whereas, on the contrary, the Christian galleys are so heavy, so embarrassed, and in such bad order and confusion, that it is utterly in vain to think of giving them chase,

¹ The Corsairs prided themselves on the ship-shape appearance of their vessels. Everything was stowed away with marvellous neatness and economy of space and speed; even the anchor was lowered into the hold lest it should interfere with the "dressing" of the oars. The weapons were never hung, but securely lashed, and when chasing an enemy, no movement of any kind was permitted to the crew and soldiers, save when necessary to the progress and defence of the ship. These Corsairs, in fact, understood the conditions of a rowing-race to perfection.

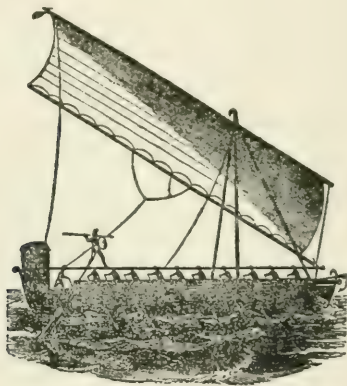
or of preventing them from going and coming, and doing just as they their selves please. This is the occasion that, when at any time the Christian galleys chase them, their custom is, by way of game and sneer, to point their fresh-tallowed poops, as they glide along like fishes before them, all one as if they showed them their backs to salute: and as in cruising art, by continual practise, they are so very expert, and withal (for our sins) so daring, presumptuous, and fortunate, in a few days from their leaving Algiers they return laden with infinite wealth and captives; and are able to make three or four voyages in a year, and even more if they are inclined to exert themselves. Those who have been cruising westward, when they have taken a prize, conduct it to sell at Tetwān, El-Araish, &c., in the kingdom of Fez; as do those who have been eastward, in the states of Tunis and Tripoli: where, refurnishing themselves with provisions, &c., they instantly set out again, and again return with cargoes of Christians and their effects. If it sometimes happens more particularly in winter, that they have roamed about for any considerable time without lighting on any booty, they retire to some one of these seven places, viz:—If they had been in the west their retreats were Tetwān, Al-Araish, or Yusa; those who came from the Spanish coasts went to the island Formentara; and such as had been eastward retired to the island S. Pedro, near Sardinia, the mouths of Bonifacio in Corsica, or the islands Lipari and Strombolo, near Sicily and Calabria; and there, what with the conveniency of those commodious ports and harbours, and the fine springs and fountains

of water, with the plenty of wood for fuel they meet with, added to the careless negligence of the Christian galleys, who scarce think it their business to seek for them—they there, very much at their ease, regale themselves, with stretched-out legs, waiting to intercept the paces of Christian ships, which come there and deliver themselves into their clutches.”

Father Dan describes their mode of attack as perfectly ferocious. Flying a foreign flag, they lure the unsuspecting victim within striking distance, and then the gunners (generally renegades) ply the shot with unabated rapidity, while the sailors and boatswains chain the slaves that they may not take part in the struggle. The fighting men stand ready, their arms bared, muskets primed, and scimitars flashing, waiting for the order to board. Their war-cry was appalling; and the fury of the onslaught was such as to strike panic into the stoutest heart.

When a prize was taken the booty was divided with scrupulous honesty between the owners and the captors, with a certain proportion (varying from a fifth to an eighth) reserved for the Beylik, or government, who also claimed the hulks. Of the remainder, half went to the owners and Reïs, the other half to the crew and soldiers. The principal officers took each three shares, the gunners and helmsmen two, and the soldiers and swabbers one; the Christian slaves received from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to three shares apiece. A scrivener saw to the accuracy of the division. If the prize was a very large one, the captors usually towed it into Algiers at once, but small vessels were generally sent home under a lieutenant and a jury-crew of Moors.

There is no mistaking the aspect of a Corsair who has secured a prize: for he fires gun after gun as he draws near the port, utterly regardless of powder. The moment he is in the roads, the *Liman* Reïs, or Port Admiral, goes on board, and takes his report to the Pasha; then the galleot enters the port, and all the oars are dropped into the water and towed ashore, so that no Christian captives may make off with the ship in the absence of the captain and troops. Ashore all is bustle and delighted confusion; the dulness of trade, which is the normal condition of Algiers between the arrivals of prizes, is forgotten in the joy of renewed wealth; the erstwhile shabby now go strutting about, pranked out in gay raiment, the commerce of the bar-rooms is brisk, and every one thinks only of enjoying himself. Algiers is *en fête*.



THE GALLEON OF VENICE

[From "Sea-Wolves of the Mediterranean," by
R. HAMILTON CURRY, R. N.]

THERE is something almost pathetic in the spectacle of a really great leader badgered and importuned by lesser men to adopt a course which he, with a superior insight, knows to be unsound. In the matter of the landing Barbarossa had demonstrated that it was he whose knowledge of war was superior to those who were so ready to thrust upon him their opinions; this, however, did not content them, and they now desired to close with the foe waiting for them outside. If ever a commander was justified in waiting on events it was Barbarossa at this juncture; the business of a commander-in-chief is to ensure victory, and if he sees, as did the Moslem admiral on this occasion, that more is to be gained by delay than by fighting, then he is justified in refusing battle: particularly is this the case when the enemy is in greatly superior force blockading on an open and dangerous coast at an inclement season of the year. Every day that Doria was kept at sea added to his difficulties, as fresh water and provisions would be running short, and the energies of the human engines by which his galleys were propelled would be weakened; naked men chained to a bench were suffer-

ing from the blazing heat of the days, the cold and drenching dews of the nights. All these things had the veteran seaman weighed in his mind, they all inclined him to wait still longer in that secure anchorage where he could not be touched by his foe.

There was one counsellor, however, whom even Kheyr-ed-Din could not resist, and who had hitherto kept silence; this was the eunuch Monuc, legal counsellor to Soliman, who had accompanied the armada. He now brought the weight of his influence to bear upon the side of Sinan-Reis and his colleagues.

"Are you going," he asked the admiral, "to allow the infidels to escape without a battle? Soliman can find plenty of wood to build new fleets, plenty of captains to command them; he will pardon you if this fleet is destroyed: that which he will never pardon is that you should allow Doria to escape without fighting. You have brave men in plenty; why not lead them to the attack?"

The patience of the veteran gave way at last; none who knew Barbarossa had ever seen him shrink from fighting—to this his whole career bore witness. He had delayed the issue from the soundest of strategical reasons, which those under his command were too stupid and too prejudiced to understand: what cared they for reason in their blind valour?—they wished only to do or die heedless of the fact that their lives might be spent in vain. Truly it was no thanks to the subordinates of Kheyr-ed-Din that this campaign did not end in disaster to the arms of the Ottoman Porte. Such backing as the admiral had came from among his own men, the corsairs whose lives had been spent

at sea, but their opinions were but dust in the balance once the all-powerful Monuc ranged himself on the side of the malcontents.

"Let us then fight," said the admiral to Saleh-Reis, "or this fine talker who is neither man nor woman will accuse us before the Grand Turk and we shall all probably be hanged."

The Christian fleet during the night of September 26-7th had made some thirty miles to the southward; just before daybreak the wind freshened and drew right ahead; Doria approached the island of Santa Maura and anchored under the small islet of Sessola.

Barbarossa had now decided to leave his anchorage, but the veteran seaman did not disguise from himself the risks which he ran: a greater sea captain than he once said "only numbers can annihilate," and it was at annihilation that both the Moslem and the Christian aimed: in this case, however, he knew that he could but hope for a hard-won victory, and only that, if Allah and his Prophet were unusually favourable to his cause. He assembled his captains, many of whom had served with him during long periods of his career, and directed them to form line: he said, "I have but one order to give, follow my movements attentively and regulate your own accordingly."

With fustas, brigantines, galleots, and galleys, the Ottoman fleet amounted in all to one hundred and forty sail. With shouts of joy the soldiers hailed the command to weigh the anchors, and in a very short time all were slowly moving seaward.

The die was cast: Doria from his anchorage at Sessola saw the sea white with the sails of the enemy,

the blue water churning to foam beneath the strokes of his oars; the Ottoman fleet was issuing from the Gulf of Arta manœuvring with precision and deploying into a single line abreast; which line being slightly concave, either from accident or design, resembled the form of a crescent. In advance came six great fustas commanded by Dragut; the left wing hugged the shore as closely as possible; the Ottoman commander-in-chief intended to commence operations on the first principles of strategy by flinging his whole force on a portion of that of the enemy.

Andrea Doria remained undecided: he was on a lee shore, and that shore was the coast of the enemy; although his foes were advancing to the attack it seemed as if he had no mind to fight: whether he had or had not he displayed a most remarkable sluggishness, hesitating for three hours before getting up his anchors; these he only weighed at last under pressure from the bellicose Patriarch of Aquilea, Vincenzo Capello, and the Papal captain, Antonio Grimani. Doria had counted on the support of the *Galleon of Venice* and the *nefs*; but the galleon was becalmed four miles from the land and ten miles from Sessola, where Doria was at the beginning of the action.

Condalmiero sent a light skiff from the *Galleon of Venice* to the commander-in-chief demanding orders and help from the galleys.

"Begin the fight," answered the admiral, "you will be succoured."

The position of Condalmiero was that of a modern battleship which is disabled and surrounded by foes in full possession of their motive power; the

great galleon floated inert upon the waters while the galleys could fight or fly as they wished. The captain of the galleon, however, had no alternative save to surrender or fight; but there was no hesitation on his part, for a more gallant officer never trod the decks of a warship of the proud Republic to which he belonged.

The Moslem galleys were now close upon him, although as yet out of gun-shot; around him they wheeled and circled like a flight of great sea-birds, their ferocious crews shouting their war-cries calling upon Allah and the Prophet to give them the victory for which they craved; many a brave Venetian who heard for the first time the name of Barbarossa shouted in battle must have braced himself for the coming conflict, knowing all that was imported by that terrible name. The sun shone in a cloudless sky, the galleon lay becalmed in the middle of furious and ravening foes, the succour promised by Doria was ten miles away; they saw no movement which indicated help, and the odds against them were heavy indeed. But all the nervousness was not on one side, for the *Galleon of Venice* was something new in the naval warfare of the time; she carried great engines of destruction in the shape of great guns which the corsairs could by no means equal. Of this they were well aware, and the attack was delayed while the oarsmen in the galleys rested on their oars out of range to allow them breathing time before the supreme moment arrived. But the hounds were only held in leash; there came a signal which was answered by a concentrated yell of fury and of hate; then from right

ahead, right astern, on the port side and the starboard, the galleys were launched to the attack. But all on board the great Venetian vessel was as still as that death which awaited so many of the combatants in this supreme struggle.

Condalmiero had caused the crew of the galleon to lie down upon her decks, and stood himself, a gallant solitary figure in his shining armour, a mark for the hail of shot so soon to be discharged. It came, and with it the mast of the galleon bearing the Lion Standard of St. Mark crashed over the side into the water; renewed yells of triumph came from the Moslems, but still that ominous silence reigned on board the galleon. Untouched, unharmed, the Osmanlis came on firing as rapidly as possible until they were absolutely within arquebuss range. Closer they came and closer; then the sides of the galleon burst into sheeted flame, and the guns levelled at point blank range tore through the attacking host. Condalmiero was throwing away no chances; he had directed his gunners to allow their balls to ricochet before striking rather than to throw them away by allowing them to fly over the heads of the enemy.

The first broadside did terrible execution; a ball one hundred and twenty pounds in weight, fired by the chief bombardier, Francisco d'Arba in person, burst in the prow of a galley so effectually that all her people flew aft to the poop to prevent the water rushing in; but the vessel was practically split in twain, and sank in a few moments. All around were dead and dying men, disabled galleys, floating wreckage; the *Galleon of Venice* had taken a terrible toll of the

Osmanli; the order to retreat out of range was given, and never was order obeyed with greater alacrity.

With accuracy and precision the galleon played upon such vessels as remained within range, doing great execution. But she was now to be subjected to an even severer test than the first headlong attack. She had demonstrated to the Moslem leaders that here was no vessel to be carried by mere reckless valour; a disciplined and ordered offensive was the only plan which promised success; the Osmanli must use their brain as well as their courage if that tattered flag, rescued from the water, and nailed to the stump of the mast of the galleon, was ever to be torn down. There was something daunting in the very aspect of the solid bulk of the huge Venetian, something weird in the manner in which her crew never showed, save only the steadfast figure of her captain immovable as a statue of bronze, where he stood on her shot-torn poop.

This Homeric conflict was a triumph of discipline and gunnery on the part of the Venetians; alert, accurate, and cool, the gunners of the galleon threw away none of their ammunition: inspired by the heroic spirit of their captain, great was the honour which they did on this stricken field to the noble traditions of their forbears and the service to which they belonged.

The first attack had been most brilliantly repulsed, but this was only preliminary to a conflict which was to last all through the day; the Moslem galleys withdrew out of gunshot and re-formed; then a squadron of twenty advanced, delivered their fire, and retired;

their place was then taken by a second squadron, which went through the same performance, and then came on a third. In this manner the attack, which began one hour after noon, and which was continued until sunset, was conducted. The galleon had thirteen men killed, and forty wounded; no doubt the slaughter would have been much greater had it not been for the enormous thickness of her sides and for the fact that the guns carried by the galleys were necessarily light. Notwithstanding, the galleon suffered terribly, she was a mass of wreckage; twice fire had broken out on board of her, she was cumbered by fallen masts, battered almost out of recognition, but still Condalmiero and her gallant crew fought on imperturbably with no thought of surrender. Covered with blood, wounded in the face and the right leg by flying splinters, her captain preserved his magnificent coolness, and his decimated crew responded nobly to his call. At eventide the fire from the galleon was almost as deadly as it had been at the first onslaught, and many galleys of the Turks were only saved from sinking by the activity and bravery of their carpenters, who, slung over their sides in "boatswains' chairs," drove home huge plugs of wood with their mallets into the shot-holes made by the Venetian guns.

At the hour when the sun dipped below the horizon all the Turkish fleet seemed assembled to assault the colossus which so long had resisted their attack; there was a pause in the combat, and the firing died down. Condalmiero and his men braced themselves for the assault which they felt to be inevitable: for now the darkness was swiftly coming, in which they could no

longer see to shoot, and under cover of which their numerous foes could assail them by boarding in comparative safety. Now the moment had come for the last act in this terrible drama of the sea. They had held their own at long odds throughout the whole of a hot September day, and as the level beams of the setting sun shone on their shattered ship they were prepared to die, fighting to the last man for the honour of Venice and the glory of St. Mark.

Stiff and worn, wearied almost to the breaking strain, there was no man on board who even dreamt of surrender; all the guns were charged to the muzzle with bullets and broken stone, the artillerists match in hand stood grimly awaiting the order to fire, straining their eyes and their ears in the gathering darkness; in a few minutes at most they knew that the fate of the *Galleon of Venice* must be decided.

On board his galley, decorated for this occasion with scarlet banners, Barbarossa himself directed the assaulting line. Never before when the battle was joined had the gallant corsair been known to draw back; and yet on this occasion he not only hesitated but actually hauled off. The Venetians saw to their amazement that the expected attack was not to be pushed home; for Barbarossa and his captains fell upon some lesser vessels: the *Galleon of Venice* was victorious.

Meanwhile Doria was displaying his mastery of tactics when it was hard fighting that was wanted; he pretended that he wished to draw the Ottoman fleet into the high seas in order that he might destroy their galleys by means of the broadsides of his nefs; conse-

quently he executed useless parade movements when he should by all the rules of warfare have closed with his enemy who was in distinctly inferior force; as he had a fair wind there is only one conclusion to be drawn, and that is that he did not want to fight.

His manœuvres certainly mystified the Turks, who viewed his tactics with mistrust, thinking them the outset of some deeply laid scheme; it never entered into their calculations for one moment that the great Andrea Doria, the terror of the Mediterranean sea, and the victor in scores of desperate engagements, was anxious to avoid a fight.

Grimani and Capello, docile to the orders of their admiral, followed him full of uneasiness and distrust; they were fighting men of the most fiery description; to them the issue seemed of the simplest: there was the enemy in inferior force to themselves, they had the weather gauge, why delay the attack?

"For much less than this," says Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, "the English shot Admiral Byng in 1756." The conduct of Doria on this occasion has certainly never been explained; the two other leaders went on board and remonstrated with their commander-in-chief; they were neither of them men who could be treated as negligible quantities on the field of battle; both belonged to that brilliant Venetian nobility so renowned in commerce and in war. Marco Grimani was in command of the Papal galleys, in itself a mark of the highest esteem and confidence from a potentate second to none in his influence in the civilised world. To Vincenzo Capello, Henry the Seventh of England confided his royal person and

the command of his fleet when he crossed the Channel to encounter Richard the Third at Bosworth field. Five times had he filled the office of *Providiteur* in Venice, twice had he been commander-in-chief of her fleet, he was in perpetuity *Procureur* of St. Mark, to him Venice owed her naval discipline. He wore on this day the mantle of crimson silk with which the Republic invested her generals. Bitter was the rage in his heart, and bitterly must he have spoken to Doria, who, in spite of all remonstrances, continued his futile manœuvrings.

There was glory won on this day, but it was gained neither by Andrea Doria nor Kheyr-ed-Din Barbarossa. The *Galleon of Venice* with Alessandro Condalmiero and his gallant crew had shown to all a splendid example of disciplined valour unexcelled in sixteenth-century annals.

Barbarossa had captured a Venetian galley, a Papal galley, and five Spanish nefs, but he had recoiled from the assault on Condalmiero when the prize was actually within his grasp. For the rest it was a day of manœuvring and tactics; tactics when sixty thousand men had been embarked on board two hundred ships for a specific and definite object on the side of the Christians and under the command of their most celebrated admiral; and yet the balance of advantage was actually gained by the inferior force. No subsequent glories can ever wipe this stain from the scutcheon of Doria, or can excuse the fact that at the most supreme moment of his career he failed to fight the battle that he was in honour, in conscience, and in duty bound to deliver. Next day the wind came fair for Corfu, and

Doria, his ships untouched, unscathed, unharmed, put his helm up and sailed away followed by his fleet.

Sandoval records the fact that Barbarossa, roaring with laughter the while, was accustomed to say that Doria had even put out his lanterns in order that no one might see whither he had fled. This was an allusion to the fact—or supposition—that Doria extinguished on that night the great poop lantern carried by him as admiral.

When Soliman the Magnificent heard of the result of this battle he caused the town of Yamboli, where he was at the time, to be illuminated, and in the excess of his joy he added one hundred thousand aspres to the revenues of the conqueror; there were processions to the Grand Mosque, and all Islam rejoiced and sang the praises of the invincible admiral who had humbled to the dust the pride of the Christian and caused the dreaded Doria to fly from before the fleet of the Sultan.

This, the most historical, if not the greatest feat in the life of Kheyr-ed-Din Barbarossa, was for him a triumph indeed; with a vastly inferior force he had driven from the field of battle his "rival in glory," as he himself had denominated Andrea Doria, and he had accomplished this feat notwithstanding the almost mutinous condition of his own forces. In spite of this it is with Condalmiero and with him alone that the glory of this day must rest; alone, absolutely unsupported as we have seen, he fought one of those fights which bring the heart into the mouth when we read of them; the stern pride of the Venetian noble, who despised as canaille the pirate hosts by whom he

was assailed, had its counterpart in the sturdy valour of Chief Bombardier Francisco d'Arba and the other nameless heroes of which that good company was composed; to them we render that homage which so justly is their due.



THE ORIGIN OF THE FREEBOOTERS

[From "The History of the Pirates," by
JOHN AUCHENHALZ]

THE origin and commencement of the Freebooters, or Brethren of the coast, were so inconsiderable, as at first to excite no attention. With the exception of a few boats, they were destitute of every kind of ships, even of the smallest description: they had neither ammunition, pilots, nor provisions, and but little knowledge of navigation; and at length they were destitute even of money. But all these wants were compensated by their intrepidity, which surmounted every obstacle, and which daily increased with their successes.

On their first appearance they formed small societies, which, after the example of the Buccaneers, they termed *Matelotages*. In general, they united together to the number of twenty or thirty, procured an open boat, into which they crowded, and embarked upon a cruise. At first they confined themselves to giving chase to fishermen's boats and small craft; till, emboldened by success, they attacked ships of every size, and even men of war.

Their crews were admirably favored by innumerable natural havens, gulphs, and small islands, which were for the most part deserted, but which abounded

with provisions, especially fish, tortoises, marine birds, and excellent water. These islands were very easy of access for small embarkations, but could not be approached without imminent danger by large vessels, and still more so by ships.

The Free-booters commenced their organized piracies about the year 1600, and continued their depredations, with various modifications, till the end of the seventeenth century: if to these be added their less important enterprises, their continuance may be extended to the eighteenth century.

The first Free-booters were only common Pirates. Little did they foresee that their successors would in a short time have the audacity, openly to brave Spain, whose power was at that time so great, and even to render themselves formidable to all Spanish America. At the period now referred to, they abandoned the West India seas, the confined theatre of their petty expeditions, and undertook voyages of longer duration. After coasting along the Azores and the islands of Cape Verd, they ventured in their frail barks as far as the coast of Guinea, and thence to Brazil: some of them advanced even to the East Indies. When their cruise had successfully terminated, they returned to Madagascar; where they landed, and spent the produce of their captures. Very few of them ever revisited Europe, which had given them birth, or even their American dwellings: but their successors formed a deliberate plan. The West Indies continued the principal theatre of their depredations, so long as those latitudes afforded them protection. The island of St. Christopher, and afterwards those

of Tortugas, St. Domingo, and Jamaica, were their accustomed residences, or rather places of resort; and their piracies were confined to the American seas.

Tortugas, in particular, was regarded as their real place of abode; the planters of which island (already belonging to France) were, from a false policy, left altogether to themselves, with very circumscribed means, both of subsistence and of commerce. Being in the vicinity of St. Domingo, they were envious of its happy situation; and, in order to indemnify themselves for their own uncomfortable condition, they gradually formed a system of piracy, the object of which was, to procure by force that subsistence which they were denied by circumstances.

A Frenchman of Dieppe, Pierre le Grand, (which name afterwards became his heroic appellation), led the way in this course by a brilliant action, which excited emulation. He set sail with a pirate vessel, manned only by twenty-eight men; and at the extremity of Cape Filburon, on the western coast of St. Domingo, met a Spanish ship, the crew of which amounted to upwards of two hundred men, and which was also mounted with cannon. She belonged to a fleet of merchantmen that were sailing towards Europe, but having been separated from the rest, was peaceably pursuing her route. As soon as the Pirates perceived her, they swore, one after another, on the hands of their chief, that they would capture her or perish, and immediately sailed directly to her. The sun was setting when they boarded the Spanish ship, armed with pistols; in a moment they pierced their own bark in several places, which sunk almost beneath

their feet, with every thing it contained. The ferocious conquerers slew every one that resisted, took possession of the magazine of arms, surprised the officers who were playing at cards in perfect security, and in a very short time made themselves masters of the ship. The Spaniards who were thus unexpectedly attacked, perceiving no ship near them, considered these Pirates as demons that had fallen from the sky, and said one to another, "These men are devils!" They surrendered without making any defence.

By this adventure, Captain Pierre made a capture by which all his crew were suddenly enriched. Not wishing to run the risk of losing again the wealth thus rapidly gained, he landed all the Spanish sailors that were not absolutely necessary to work the ship, and immediately set sail for France. He returned no more to America; but the memory of his brilliant action left there a profound impression, which was not easily to be effaced.

Almost all the Spanish ships that appeared in those seas were successively attacked, and of course captured, of whatever size they might be, whether large or small, whether mounted with cannon or not, whether they were sailing alone or in convoy. The wretched barks of the Free-booters gradually disappeared after the capture of so many fine ships, some of which were very large; and these pirates, with their new acquisitions, scoured the seas with more security, and carried on their robberies upon a larger scale.

Now, indeed, the Spaniards paid more attention to the progress of the Free-booters, who threatened with

utter destruction their vast commerce, as well as their navigation in the American seas. They therefore equipped two large men of war, in order to protect their coasts, and cruise against these formidable pirates; who, however, became in consequence more active and audacious. A large number of plunderers assembled together under their destroying flag.

Nor was the French the only nation that attacked the Spanish ships: they were chased by other nations, viz. the English, the Dutch, and especially by the Portuguese. Hence immense captures were made: the market for this pillage increased, the sale of their prizes became more easy, and their profession more attractive. In a short time Jamaica served as a place of refuge; and to such a degree did their numbers increase, that, notwithstanding their armaments, the Spaniards were for some time obliged to relinquish their navigation in those seas. They flattered themselves with the hope, that by presenting no prey for the Free-booters, they would reduce them into a state of inactivity, and consequently effect the dissolution of their society. But they were strangely deceived in their calculations. Weary of their unfruitful cruises, the Free-booters assembled together in large bodies, conceived vast plans, and determined to undertake the landing of men in form.

Lewis Scott, an Englishman, was the first who executed one of these schemes, which the Spaniards had not foreseen. He suddenly penetrated into the city of St. Francis, of Campechy, which he pillaged, and laid a heavy contribution upon it, threatening to burn it to ashes, and immediately afterwards re-embarked.

This example was followed by John Davis, a native of Jamaica; who, with one ship and ninety men, attempted an action, the audacity of which excites astonishment.

He landed near Nicaragua, leaving his ship at anchor under guard of ten of his companions in arms; the remainder he distributed into three canoes, and, availing himself of the darkness of the night, sailed up the river which leads to the city of Grenada. They met a sentinel, to whom they spoke Spanish, and passed for fisherman; afterwards they disembarked without encountering any obstacles, and massacred the soldiers who had peaceably witnessed their landing; and having thus penetrated the middle of Nicaragua without discovery, they dispersed themselves throughout the town, and pillaged both houses and churches.

The cries of terror which resounded on every side, put the inhabitants in motion. They tumultuously assembled to defend themselves; but the Free-booters were too few in number to seek the dangerous honor of an engagement. Content with safely depositing their prizes, they hastily regained their canoes, and took with them some prisoners as hostages, in case of accident. They successfully reached the coast, and after releasing their prisoners, they set sail with their plunder, at the very moment when some hundreds of armed Spaniards arrived in order to attack them. Their booty, which consisted both of silver and precious stones, was worth 40,000 piasters.

The Pirates landed at Jamaica, where they formed a fleet of eight ships, of which the intrepid Davis was appointed Admiral by his comrades. He immediately

set sail towards the latitude of Cuba, in order that he might there watch the coming of the fleet from Mexico. Having failed in this enterprize, and being desirous of indemnifying his men for their loss, he landed at Florida, and pillaged the city of St. Augustin, in defiance of its fort, which was defended by two hundred men, who continued immoveable. Davis also signalised himself by other bold achievements: he landed on the coast of Granada, whence he advanced into the South Sea; but, at length, for want of provisions, he was obliged to return.

Another chieftain of the Free-booters was a French gentleman, who was known only by his Christian name (Alexander), to which, on account of his prodigious strength, had been added the surname of Iron Arm. His plan was to cruise only with one ship, which he called the *Phœnix*, and which was manned only by the most resolute men. In one of these cruises he encountered a violent tempest. The winds tore his sail to pieces, and threw down his masts; the lightning set fire to the powder magazine, and blew up into the air that part of the ship which contained it, together with all the Free-booters who were there. The ship, thus dismantled, still floated; but the violence of the explosion cast the remainder of the crew into the sea; forty of whom—and among these unfortunates was their commander—were enabled to save themselves from the wreck, by the vicinity of the neighbouring coast. This place was an island near the *Dragon's Mouth*, and inhabited by Indians who had never been subdued, and who were formidable from their ferocity. The situation of the Pirates

was horrible; they were destitute of every thing, and were also obliged to preserve themselves from the Indians. One day they were attacked by a large detachment of these savages, for whose reception they were prepared: several of them were slain, and some even were taken prisoners. Alexander released them; but, previously to their departure, he wished, by an ingenious expedient, to inspire them with a terror, which should effectually take away their desire of returning. He caused a cuirass, made of very thick leather, to be stretched on a whalebone, and by signs invited them to penetrate it with their arrows. They shot these with equal dexterity and vigor; but, notwithstanding their strength and sharpness, the arrows scarcely grazed the cuirass—a circumstance which excited their astonishment in no small degree. Alexander afterwards showed to them that the arms of the Free-booters were of a very different temper. One of them took his fusee, and having withdrawn six paces farther than the savage, discharged his piece. The shot went entirely through the cuirass, and even the whalebone to which it was attached. The stupefied Indians approached, and examined the effect of the ball; demanding one to shoot in their turn. Accordingly, they placed it on their bow, which they bent, and shot; but the ball fell at their feet. Thus Alexander made them conceive a high idea of his vigor, and gave them to understand that all his companions possessed equal strength with himself. This lesson produced the desired effect; no Indian ever after making his appearance.

At length the Free-booters perceived at a distance

a ship coming with full sail towards the shore. They concealed themselves, lest they should prevent her from approaching, and deliberated what steps it would be advisable for them to take. Some were of opinion that they should beseech the officers to take them on board: others were apprehensive of their liberty; and, fearing yet greater danger, wished to prepare for self-defence. Alexander proceeded yet further: in his opinion, it was of little use to defend themselves; they ought to make an attack, and with his proposal they all coincided. In the meantime the ship, cast anchor: it was a Spanish merchantman, armed for war, whose crew were in want of water, which they had come to procure from that island, where it was excellent. The officers were far from suspecting that any Pirates were there; but, knowing the treachery of the islanders, they directed those, who were to fill the hogsheads, to advance with very great caution, and gave them an escort of their best soldiers, of whom they took the command in person.

The Free-booters observed the very great order in which their enemies marched, and that, from their superiority in numbers, it was only by attacking them suddenly that they could obtain the victory. Accordingly, they concealed themselves in a thick wood, whence they seized an opportunity of firing upon them. The Spaniards stopped to defend themselves; they looked around, but no person was visible: the species of arms, however, which had just been discharged, soon convinced them with whom they had to contend. With a view, therefore, to gain time, as well as to escape the danger of the moment, and to draw their

adversaries out of their inaccessible ambuscade, they laid themselves flat upon the ground. The Pirates, who had been able to distinguish them, notwithstanding the thickness of the foliage, could not account for their sudden disappearance. Instigated by impatience, Alexander issued from his retreat in quest of the Spaniards, being accompanied by a few of his men. Suddenly, his adversaries arose; and shouting horribly, rushed upon the Free-booters; whose commander was advancing directly towards the Spanish captain, when a root of a tree tripped up his feet, and threw him down close by the latter. The Spaniard, without giving him time to rise, was about to sever Alexander's head with his sabre; when the latter, at this critical moment, saved himself by his extraordinary strength. While half fallen on the ground, he seized the Spaniard with a grasp, and stayed his arm: in a very short time he was up on his feet, and called his men, who ran towards him from every side. The Spaniards, confounded and exhausted by fatigue, all bit the dust; and Alexander, in order to facilitate what yet remained to be done, ordered his comrades to spare not a single individual: his commands were punctually obeyed.

In the meantime, those who continued on board, had heard the report of musquetry, but entertained no apprehensions concerning their men; supposing them only to be engaged with the islanders, they contented themselves with firing a few cannon, in order to intimidate those savages. The Free-booters did not continue inactive after their victory: they stripped the dead, with whose apparel they arrayed themselves, not forgetting

their large caps, which covered the whole of the head. Thus disguised, they shouted cries of victory; marched towards the shore, where they threw themselves into the shallops which were awaiting the return of the Spaniards that had disembarked; and at length joined the ship, in which, under cover of their disguise, they were received with transports of joy. As the greater part of the soldiers had been sent away on account of the landing, which had been attended with such fatal consequences, there remained on board only a very few soldiers, together with the seamen and passengers. Their security rendered their defeat easy; and, with the exception of a few sailors, they were all massacred. Thus the Free-booters made themselves masters of a ship richly laden, and arrived without any accident at Tortugas, after a series of occurrences, which evinced at the same time their good fortune, their boldness, and their ferocity.



IN THE GOOD OLD DAYS

[From "The History of the Indian Wars and of
Plantain the Pyrate, &c.," by CLEMENT
DOWNING, R. N.]

JOHN PLANTAIN was born in Chocolate-Hole, on the island of *Jamaica*, of *English* Parents, who took care to bestow on him the best Education, they themselves were possess'd of; which was to curse, swear, and blaspheme, from the time of his first learning to speak. This is generally the chief Education bestowed on the Children of the common People in those Parts. He was sent to School to learn to read, which he once could do tolerably well; but he quickly forgot the same, for want of practising it. The Account he gave of his first falling into that wicked and irregular Course of Life, was, That after he was about thirteen Years of Age, he went as Master's Servant on board a small Sloop belonging to *Spanish-Town*, on the Island of *Jamaica*, and they went out a privateering and to cut Logwood in the Bay of *Campeachy*; where they generally used to maroon the *Spaniards*, and the *Spaniards* used to maroon them, as the one or t'other happened to be strongest. He followed this Course of Life till he was near 20 Years of Age, when he came to *Rhode-Island*; there he fell into company with several Men who belonged to a Pyrate Sloop. These try'd to per-

suade him, with several others, to go with them; shewing great Sums of Gold, and treating him and others in a profuse and expensive Manner. His own wicked Inclinations soon led him to accept the Offer, without much Hesitation. At the same time, he acknowledged that he had no Occasion to go with them, as he belonged to a very honest Commander, and one that used the Sailors very well on all Accounts. But being of a roving Disposition, he could not bear being under any Restraint. They soon went on board this Pyrate Sloop, and were entertained in a handsome manner, being presented to the Captain, who seem'd to like them very well, and told them if they would sail with him, they should have the same Encouragement as the other People had, and that they should in a short time take a Voyage which would prove the making of them all; after this they design'd to accept the first Act of Grace, and leave off. They left *Rhode-Island* in this Sloop which they called the *Terrible*, commanded by *John Williams*; and one *Roberts*, being a bold and resolute Man, was made Quarter-master. With *John Plantain*, entered the following five, viz. *John James* of *Boston* in *New-England*, *Henry Millis* of *Falmouth* in the *West of England*; *Richard Dean* of *Stepney, London*; *John Harvey* of *Shadwell*; and *Henry Jones* of *St. Paul's, London*; all young Men, the oldest not being above 23 Years of Age. When ever any enter on board of these Ships voluntarily, they are obliged to sign all their Articles of Agreement; which is in effect, to renounce Honour, and all human Compassion; for they seldom shew any Mercy to those who fall into their Hands.

FROM *Rhode-Island* they shaped their Course for the Coast of *Guinea*, and in their way took three Ships, amongst the Crews of which was Mr. *Moore* the Surgeon, spoken of in the Account of Commodore *Matthews's* Transactions. They pretended to give Liberty to those Ships Crews either to go or stay with them. The Boatswain of the Ship to which Mr. *Moore* belonged, entered voluntarily, and would have used his Captain and several of the Men very barbarously; but *Roberts*, who was then Quarter-master, would not allow of it. They kept the Surgeon and Carpenter by Compulsion, when they found they chose to leave them; and took one of the Ships, which prov'd to be the best Sailor, and called her the *Defiance*. Now they had got a Ship of near 300 Tuns, which mounted 30 Guns, well mann'd and well stored with Provisions. They usually are at no certain Allowance amongst themselves, till they are in a Likelihood of being short of Provision, but every Man is allowed to eat what he pleases. Then they put all under the care of their Quarter-master, who discharges all things with an Equality to them all, every Man and Boy faring alike; and even their Captain, or any other Officer, is allowed no more than another Man; nay, the Captain cannot keep his own Cabbin to himself, for their Bulk heads are all down, and every Man stands to his Quarters, where they lie and mess, tho' they take the liberty of ranging all over the Ships.

THIS large Ship they took was bound for *Jamaica*, called the *Prosperous* of *London*, one Capt. *James* Commander; whom, and so many of his Crew as were not willing to go with them, they put on board

those two other Vessels they let go. The *Prosperous* had on board a considerable number of *East-India* Bales, which they hoisted up on Deck, and cut open; the Quarter-master distributing the same amongst the Pyrates. They arrived in a short time on the Coast of *Guinea*, and kept all the trading Ships from carrying on any manner of Commerce at *Gambo*, and the other Ports on that Coast. Here they met with the *Onslow*, whom they fought a considerable time; but the Pyrates being well mann'd, boarding her, made sad Havock of her Crew, and brought them to cry out for Quarter, which is but very indifferent at best; so when they had taken her, they made one of their number whose Name was *England*, a Man who had been Mate of several good Ships, Captain of her. *Plantain* and his Companions were daily encreasing their Store; for not long after they took the *Onslow*, they mastered a *Dutch* Interloper, with whom they had a smart Battle, and had not the Sloop came to their Assistance, they would have been obliged to let her go. But the Sloop coming up, and pouring a great number of Men on board, they soon over-powered them. This Ship they liked exceeding well, and were resolved to keep her, calling her the *Fancy*; and Capt. *England* having a mind to her, they allowed him to command her.

THEY daily now encreased their number, and were not for keeping so many Ships, imagining they should soon have a Squadron of Men of War after them, which they did not care to have any Correspondence with. Now Capt. *England* proposed a new Voyage to them, which might be the making of them

all very rich; and as they had got such good Ships under their Command, they were resolved to make the best of their present Situation. First they proposed to burn the *Terrible* Sloop, being old and leaky, and not fit to beat about the Cape. So having finished their Cruise on the Coast of *Guinea*, they were resolved to steer another way. These Pyrates had now got the *Fancy* under the Command of Capt. *England*, and a small Brigantine called the *Unity*, which they named the *Expedition*, and gave the Command to one *Johnson* that was with them; tho' one Quarter-master serv'd for them all. And being in great Dispute how and which way they should dispose of each other, they went on shore on the Coast of *Guinea*, and there held a fresh Consultation, when some were for going with Capt. *England*, and some with Capt. *Roberts*. These Disputes lasted for some time, but it was left to a Committee chose from among them, on whose Determination they resolved to rely. They had now six or seven Ships with them, on which account it was resolved, that *England* and *Roberts* should separate, for fear of a Civil War amongst themselves. *England* was to take the *Fancy*, the *Snow*, and the Ship they called the *Victory*, and go away for the *East-Indies*; and *Roberts* and the rest were to continue and range about those Seas, as they thought fit. *Roberts* afterwards fell into the Hands of Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, and by him was brought up to Justice, and he and his Crew were hung up in Chains along the Coast of *Guinea*, from *Cape-Coast-Castle*.

CAPT. *England* took to the Eastern Seas, and came away for *St. Augustine's Bay*, on the Island of

Madagascar, and his People being very sickly, the Doctor had them sent on shore for the Recovery of their Healths; but several died. Here they cleared their Ship as well as they could, *St. Augustine's Bay* being a Place not extraordinary convenient for Shipping to lie in, on account of the Foulness of the Ground in the Bottom of the Harbour, and the irregular Sounding, on which account a Ship can no ways come to anchor there, to continue any time; nay, not so much as four or five Hours: For 'tis a hundred to one, should the Anchor go in the Ground, or amongst the Rocks, if ever 'tis got up again. But there is a Road to the Southward of the Harbour, where you may anchor in six or seven Fathom Water: Here is smooth Riding, and the Inhabitants will come off to trade with you; but be careful how you trust them, for they are a more politick and cunning People than the Negroes of the *Guinea* or *Gold Coast*, very crafty in their way of Trade, and private in their Intentions, speak you fair, but intend to murder you at the same time. They have five or six petty Kings near one another, who are in Alliance together. Here Capt. *England* lay in the Road, and repaired all his Rigging, and got a Supply of Provisions. From hence he came on the Coast of *Ethiopia*, with his two Ships, and went to the *Portuguese* at *Massebeach*, who supposed them to belong to the *English East-India Company*. After they had got a fresh Supply of Provisions, they sailed to the Island of *Johanna*, where they lay some time, and then cruised off the *Streights Mouth* of *Babelmondon*, or the *Red-sea*, where they took a *Moors* Ship, richly laden, coming down from

India. They then made the best of their way for *Madagascar*, and went to *St. Mary's Island*, where none of their Fraternity had been for many Years, and were very joyfully received by the King. This Island joins to the Continent of *Madagascar*, and is generally a Place of Residence for Pyrates. Here they made a sad Massacre of the poor *Moors* Men, they had taken in the Ship above-mentioned, and abused their Women in a very vile manner. Some say, that Capt. *England* kept one or two of the *Moors* Women for his own Use, there being some of Distinction amongst them, whose Fathers were in high Posts under the Great *Mogul*.

THEY brought the *Moors* Ship's Cargo to a quick Market, and made Sale of what they could; and Part of the rest they cast in heaps on the Beach, to be spoil'd by the Winds and Weather. The Ship, they found, was not answerable for their Purpose; on which account they haled her on shore, and sunk her; with some part of her Cargo on board, which was neglected by the Inhabitants, who knew not the Value nor Use of those rich Commodities. They took up their Winter-Quarters at this Place, and replenished their Store: Before they sunk the *Moors* Ship, they made a sort of Hulk of her, and hove down their other Ships the *Fancy*, and *Snow*, which they called the *Expedition*; and made a clean Ship; this was in the Year 1719. They then came to *Johanna*, where they found the *Cassandra* and *Greenwich*; the former commanded by Capt. *Mackray*, and the latter by Capt. *Kirby*. Capt. *Mackray* maintain'd a Noble Fight for a whole Day, and had not the Ship drove

ashore, 'tis thought that he would have cleared himself of the Pyrates; who themselves own'd that he galled them bitterly, and killed them a great number of Men. The Captain and most of his Men were obliged to fly up into the Country; where the People happen'd to be civilized, and afforded them Refuge. The Pyrate in a few Days sent for the Captain and his Crew down, and used them with good Manners, and agreed amongst themselves to give the Captain the *Fancy*, in Consideration of his Loss, and they gave him likewise several Bales of Cloth which they thought would be of no Service to them. As to his Men, they suffer'd all of them to go with him, except his Carpenter's Mate, whom they compelled to remain with them.

THE year after, they came on the Coast of *Malabar*, and met with the *London* fitted out on Purpose to engage them, in company with several other Ships. But instead of that, the whole *Bombay* Fleet seem'd afraid to attack them, but burn'd the *Prahm* themselves, a fine floating Engine which mounted 24 Guns, (as mentioned before) and then retired into the Harbour of *Bombay*.

THE Pyrates after this steer'd for *Domascaicas*, and there fell in with a large Ship belonging to the *Portuguese*; and hoisting *English* Colours, the *Portuguese* judg'd them to be an English Ship which had lost their Passage as well as themselves, and made all things ready to salute each other. In the mean time, the Pyrates got all their Guns in Readiness, and came ranging up her Side, and never once offer'd to fire a Gun till they were near enough to board, and

then dosed them with double Round and Partridge, so that the Shot went through and through them. They cut their Cable, and away they went with her. This proved a very rich Prize. They also took another *Moors* Ship the Year after coming from *China*, by which they got immense Riches. The great Ship they took from the *Portuguese*, they caused afterward to mount 70 Guns, and on board the *Cassandra* they mounted 40; by which they thought themselves sole Masters of all the *Indian* Seas. They after came down to *Madagascar*, and there they refitted again at *Port Dolphin*, and from thence they went to *Charnock Point*. Here they took out of the Ships they had with them, all the Eatables, Liquors, Money, Jewels, Diamonds; and left on shore fine *China* and other valuable Goods, enough to have laden a large Ship with. They now held a Consultation what they should do; several were for leaving off, and living on what they had; others of a more covetous Disposition, were for still continuing in their unlawful Practices. However, the Majority wanted Capt. *England* to leave those Parts, and to go down to *La Vera Cruz*, and there to accept the *Spanish* Act of Grace. They were now divided in Opinion what was best for them to do; for they had heard at *St. Augustine's Bay*, that Commodore *Matthews* was arrived in quest of them, by his Letters left there for the *Salisbury*; which Letters the Natives gave them. On this they steer'd for *Port Dolphin*, and from thence to *Moroslas*. They knew what Season was coming on, and how we were obliged to shape our Course. We came after in the *Salisbury*, and they told us, that

the Pyrates had got our Letters. On which Information, they dispersed themselves, and some went to one Place, and some to another.

PLANTAIN, *James Adair*, and *Hans Burgen* the *Dane*, had fortified themselves very strongly at *Ranter-Bay*; and taken possession of a large Tract of Country. *Plantain* having the most Money of them all, called himself King of *Ranter-Bay*, and the Natives commonly sing Songs in praise of *Plantain*. He brought great Numbers of the Inhabitants to be subject to him, and seem'd to govern them arbitrarily; tho' he paid his Soldiers very much to their Satisfaction. He would frequently send Parties of Men into other Dominions, and seize the Inhabitants' Cattle. He took upon him to make War, and to extort Tribute from several of the petty Kings his Neighbours, and to encrease his own Dominions.

JAMES ADAIR's Birth and Education was something superior to that of *Plantain*; for he was learnt to write as well as read; and had been brought up in the Town of *Leith*, by a sober and industrious Father and Mother. Not behaving to the Satisfaction of his Parents, he went for *London*, and from thence, for the *West-Indies*; but was taken by the Pyrates, and after that entered voluntarily with them. He was a young Man of a very hard Countenance, but something inclined to Good-Nature. When we bartered with the Pyrates at *Ranter-Bay* for Provisions, they frequently shewed the Wickedness of their Disposition, by quarrelling and fighting with each other upon the most trifling Occasions. It was their Custom never to go abroad, except armed with Pistols or

a naked Sword in their Hand, to be in Readiness to defend themselves or to attack others.

HANS BURGÉN, the *Dane*, was born at *Copenhagen*, and had been brought up a Cooper; but coming to *London*, he entered himself with Capt. *Creed* for *Guinea*; the Ship being taken by the Pyrates, he agreed to go with them, and became a Comrade to King *Plantain*. This *Plantain's* House was built in as commodious a manner as the Nature of the Place would admit; and for his further State and Recreation, he took a great many Wives and Servants, whom he kept in great Subjection; and after the *English* manner, called them *Moll*, *Kate*, *Sue* or *Pegg*. These Women were dressed in the richest Silks, and some of them had Diamond Necklaces. He frequently came over from his own Territories to *St. Mary's* Island, and there began to repair several Parts of Capt. *Avery's* Fortifications.

THE King of *Massaleage* had with him a very beautiful Grand-daughter, said to be the Daughter of an *English* Man, who commanded a *Bristol* Ship, that came there on the Slaving Trade. This Lady was called *Eleonora Brown*, so named by her Father; she had been taught to speak a little *English*; but this is common on the Island of *Madagascar*, it being the chief Rendezvous of the Pyrates, where they victual and refit their Ships. *Plantain* being desirous of having a Lady of *English* Extraction, sent to the King of *Massaleage* (whom the Pyrates called *Long-Dick*, or King *Dick*) to demand his Grand-daughter for a Wife. Capt. *England*, with 60 or 70 Men had dispersed themselves about the Island, and inhabited

amongst the Negroes: but Capt. *England* being very poor, was obliged to be beholden to several of the white Men for his Subsistence. Several of these People had join'd King *Dick* at *Massaleage*; and persuaded him to refuse *Plantain's* Demand, to put himself in a Posture of Defence, and to prohibit all Correspondence between any of his Subjects and those of *Plantain*. The chief Weapon used by the Natives is the Lance, which they are very dextrous in throwing. But *Plantain* had got some hundreds of Firelocks, which he distributed among his Subjects, and had learned them to exercise in a pretty regular manner. He also had great Store of Powder and Ball, and a good Magazine provided with all manner of Necessaries. He was a Man of undaunted Courage; which he shewed by venturing down to *Charnock Point*, as mentioned before. Indeed I was surprized to find a Stranger pop on me armed as he was, with two Pistols stuck in his Sash, tho' but mean in Habit. At that time he asked me, what we did there, and whether we were Men of War sent out in quest of them. I told him, I did not know who he was; he said, that he had belonged to the *Cassandra*, but had now left off Pyrating, and lived at *Ranter-Bay*. He then gave me the aforementioned Account of his Birth and Parentage; and that if the Commodore thought proper, he would trade with us, and supply the whole Squadron with Cattle, and other Provisions.

BUT to return from this Digression: On *Plantain's* receiving this Message of Defiance from the King of *Massaleage*, he sent to tell him, that if he did not comply directly, he would bring such an arm'd

Force against him, that should drive him out of his Dominions; and if he happened to fall into his Hands, he would certainly send him to Prince *William* of *St. Augustine's* Bay, who would sell him to the first *English* Ship which put in there. These Menaces made King *Dick* something fearful at first; but being buoy'd up by several of the *Englishmen* that were there, he still refused his Demands, and boldly sent word, that he would not give him the Trouble to come quite to his Home, but that he would certainly meet him half way. This Answer so much inrag'd *Plantain*, that he called his chief Officers together to consult what he should do; tho', let their Advice be what it would, he always followed his own Inclination. His chief General was a Fellow they called *Molatto Tom*, who pretended to be the Son of Capt. *Avery*; which might probably be true, for the Man was near 40 Years of Age when we were there. This Man being born on the Island of *Madagascar*, and of *English* Blood, *Plantain* put must Confidence in him, and intrusted him to raise Men for his Service; he fetch'd over from *St. Mary's* Island about a thousand Men, which stood by *Plantain* the best of any, and would not flinch from him.

BUT *Plantain* was like to have been trick'd by King *Kelly* of *Mannagore*, who brought 1000 Men with him, and agreed for a certain Sum of Money to fight for him, which *Plantain* very willingly imbraced, and treated him as he did the rest of his Brother Kings. But *Kelly* led off his Men, and retreated just before the Battle, being afraid, that should he assist *Plantain*, it might cause perpetual Wars between

King *Dick* and him. By this time there were four or five other Kings come to his Assistance, who resenting many injuries they had received from King *Dick*, were resolved to demolish him if possible: But they found a hard Piece of work of it. For tho' *Plantain* had great Store of Riches, he could not have a fresh Supply when that was laid out. *Plantain* entertained his Brother Kings in a grand Manner, and he caused a whole Bullock to be roasted for their Entertainment. As to Liquor he let them have but little, tho' they covet it very much, and will drink any manner of spirituous Liquors, till it even takes away their Breath; when they are drunk, they love to sleep in the Sun. The Natives of *Madagascar* are very deceitful, on which account *Plantain* intrusted very few of them with Fire-Arms. Perhaps he would distribute about 20 or 30 Muskets amongst 1000 Men, which were put only into the Hands of those he could depend upon. They load and discharge their pieces with great Expedition. I have seen a Negro at *Massaleage* take a Musket all to pieces, and look well into the Lock before he would buy the same.

KING *Dick* being positively resolved to fight, sent to *St. Augustine's*, to desire Prince *William* to come to his Assistance, promising to serve him on any other Occasion. But he thought proper to join *Plantain*, who put his whole Army in Battle-Array, and those he entrusted with Fire-Arms were intermixed amongst those who had Lances. He had *English* Colours at the head of his part of the Army; the Party commanded by the *Dane* had *Danish* Colours;

and *Adair* the Scot had *St. Andrew's* Colours. *Plantain* ordered the *Scotsman* should command on the Right, and the *Dane* on the Left; having intermixed several *Englishmen* amongst the Negroes, to keep them up in their firing, and not to suffer any of them to lie down. The Negro Chiefs take what Money their Men have, and compel them to fight: They seldom want Provisions; for Potatoes grow wild, and Cattle are plenty without Proprietors, except that they keep a few Cows for their own milking. When they were on their March from *Ranter-Bay* to *Massaleage*, King *Dick* was as good as his Word, met them half way, and attack'd them; but after a smart Engagement *Plantain* put him to the Rout, took some of the *Englishmen* who had persuaded King *Dick* not to comply with his Demand, and drove the rest quite out of the Field; after which they dispersed, and shifted for themselves as well as they could. As for the *Englishmen* he had taken, he ordered a great Fire to be kept burning all Night, and the hot Coals to be scattered about, and made them run to and fro' barefooted upon them, and ordered the Negroes to throw Lances at them, till by these Tortures they expired.

AFTER this Success, he resolved to be revenged on King *Kelly*, who had deserted him, and had been join'd by Part of King *Dick's* scattered Forces. To this end, he put himself on his March with his Forces, and came up with *Kelly*; on which ensued a smart Encounter, which lasted a whole Day, each Party being supported by the *English*, some of whom were on one side, some on the other. *Plantain* maintain-

ing his Ground with great Resolution, the other Party desired a Parley, but was refused, and they continued the Fight till it was so very dark, that they were obliged to give over. They had a great Number of Men kill'd and wounded on both sides, but they kept a very good Guard, resolving to renew the Fight in the Morning; and in the mean time *Plantain* encouraged his Men, by distributing some Brandy among 'em. *Kelly* and *King Dick* seemed resolved to defend themselves to the utmost of their power; but early in the Morning *Plantain's* Men attack'd them with fresh Vigour, put them to the Rout, and took many of them Prisoners; among whom were *John Darby* of the Town of *Chester*, and *William Mills* of *Gosport*, near *Portsmouth*; who were after tortur'd to Death in a most cruel and inhuman manner. Capt. *England* was now in great Distress, and could not well tell how to live; but coming to Prince *William* of *St. Augustine's Bay*, he there met with seven or eight of his old Ship-mates, who supported him for some time, and Prince *William* resolving to come down to *Plantain's* Assistance, they agreed to accompany him.

PLANTAIN, to make the most he could of his Victory, pursued the Enemy over to the Town of *Massaleage*; but found a stronger Resistance there, than he imagin'd; for he could not force the Town, the Enemy firing from Houses, &c. which obliged him to retreat. This so enraged *Plantain*, that he resolved to cut the two Kings of *Massaleage* and *Managore* to pieces, or put them to the most cruel Deaths whenever he had them in his Power.

THE *Europeans* who were dispersed about the Island, came soon to hear of these Disturbances; and some of them propos'd to attempt the taking of *Plantain's* Castle; but the Place being guarded by Cannon, and a River very near the Place, the Design was laid aside.

I observed, at the time that the *Salisbury* lay at *St. Mary's* Island, the first Morning we were there, some hundreds of Canoos go from thence to *Ranter-Bay*; but who they had on board we could not be sure, tho' some supposed they were full of White Men: But the Account we had of all the White Men there, both *Dutch* and *English*, was not near the Number there seem'd to be. It was more likely that these Canoos conveyed away the Treasure which *Plantain*, *Adair*, and the *Dane* had concealed there, for fear of its being discover'd. At that time they were on the island of *St. Mary*, it being a Place they frequented for Recreation or Pleasure, about ten or twelve Miles distant from *Ranter-Bay*. The Night we lay there, we were very watchful, keeping our People constantly from the Poop, calling to them on the Fore-castle, for fear the Natives in their Canoos should, conducted by the Pyrates, make an Attempt to surprize us. But they were more frightened at the sight of us, than what we imagined, as we were afterwards informed. A Man came on board the *Shoreham* at *St. Augustine's* Bay, who was a Gun-stock Maker, and had been amongst the Pyrates. The Account he gave of himself was, that he shipp'd himself Armourer of a Ship which sailed from *London*, but belong'd to *Bristol*, on a Voyage to *Madagascar*, in order to procure Slaves.

This Man (whose Name was *Thomas Lloyd*, who formerly lived in the Minories,) said he was left with six more of their Men on the Island, and had suffered very much by a petty Prince called *King Caleb*; that had it not been for Prince *William*, they should have been murder'd. That when the Pyrates were there, that Prince would not let them go out of his House; for he told them, that the Natives were Rogues, and that he was resolved to preserve them, two of whom, however, soon after died. That these Pyrates lived in a most wicked profligate manner, and would often ramble from Place to Place, and sometimes have the Misfortune of meeting some of the Natives, who would put them to lingering Deaths, by tying their Arms to a Tree, and putting lighted Matches between their Fingers; that they served two of his Ship-Mates in the like manner, and would stand and laugh at them during the time of their Agonies. This I think was a just Retaliation to the Pyrates for the inhuman Barbarities they are guilty of.

THE Natives here are very deceitful, seldom true to their Promises, and no longer your Friends, than you keep feeding them with such Presents as they want. In their way of contracting Friendship with each other, or any Stranger with whom they have a mind to hold a Correspondence, 'tis their Custom to come down to the Sea-side, and drink the Salt-water together, and to swear by the same their faithful Intention to each other. This they are very sure to keep, if such an Agreement is entered into by any Number of them: For they inflict a very severe Punishment on those who any ways infringe it. *Plan-*

tain had bound most of his Allies under this sacred Oath of Fidelity, which King *Kelly* had also taken.

THE Wars between *Plantain* and these petty Princes were carried on for near two Years; when *Plantain* having got the better of them, put several of his Enemies to Death in a most barbarous manner. As to King *Kelly*, he escaped *Plantain*'s Fury as yet, and fled for *Port Dolphin*, where his Brother was a King; but *Plantain* sent over to him, and forbid him to harbour him, for if he did, he would certainly destroy his whole Dominions, as he had done those of *Massaleage* and *Mannagore*. But *Kelly*'s Brother boldly defy'd him, and sent him back a very resolute Answer, resolving to defend his Brother's Cause. *Kelly* was a bold and undaunted Man, and had on several Occasions shew'd his Courage.

KING *Dick*, and all that belong'd to him, were taken by *Plantain*; however the Lady on whose account these Wars were begun, prov'd to be with Child by one of the Englishmen which *Plantain* had murder'd. This so much inrag'd him, that he ordered King *Dick* to be put to the same cruel Death as the *English* and *Dutchmen* had suffered. He now was resolved to march for *Port Dolphin*, as much to replenish his Stores, as to be revenged on King *Kelly*; who, conjointly with the *Dane*, had conceal'd a great Hoard of Jewels and Money at *Port Dolphin*, in an unfrequented Wood, which he was inform'd of by an Intimate of theirs, who alone they had intrusted with this Secret, and who had deserted *Plantain*.

WHEN I proceeded from *Chimnah* to *Broderah*, after I had been taken by the *Sangareens*, there came

to *Guzurat* two *Dutchmen* and three *Portugese*; one of the *Portugese* was named *Anthony de Silvestro*, and had been brought up by Capt. *Westerby* of *Poplar*, talked very good *English*. They all came from *Surat* to take on in the *Moors* Service, as many of the *English* do. This *Anthony* told me, he had been amongst the *Pyrates*, and that he belong'd to one of the Sloops in *Virginia*, when *Blackbeard* was taken. He informed me, that if it should be my lot ever to go to *York River* or *Maryland*, near an Island called *Mulberry Island*, provided we went on shore at the Watering Place, where the Shipping used most commonly to ride, that there the *Pyrates* had buried considerable Sums of Money in great Chests, well clamp'd with Iron Plates. As to my part, I never was that way, nor much acquainted with any that ever used those Parts: But I have made Enquiry, and am inform'd there is such a Place as *Mulberry Island*. If any Person, who uses those Parts, should think it worth while to dig a little way at the upper End of a small sandy Cove, where it is convenient to land, he would soon find whether the Information I had was well-grounded. Fronting the Landing-place are five Trees, amongst which, he said, the Money was hid. I cannot warrant the Truth of this Account; but if I was ever to go there, I would by some means or other satisfy myself; as it could not be a great deal out of my way. If any body should obtain any Benefit by this Account, if it please G O D they ever come to *England*, 'tis hoped they will remember the Author for his Information.

A F T E R *Plantain* had put King *Dick* to death,

and those *Dutch* and *English* who had fought against him, he march'd to the King of *Massaleage's* Dominions, and found a great deal of Treasure at King *Dick's* House, and great Store of such Sort of Grain as the Island produc'd, which *Plantain* order'd to be pack'd up, and sent to *Ranter-Bay*. As to the Inhabitants, he sent great Numbers of them down to *Ranter-Bay*, made Slaves of them, and caused them to form several Plantations of Sugar-Canes, and after brought the same to great Perfection. So soon as he had cleared the Town, he caused his Men to set the same on fire, and then went to King *Kelly's* chief Town, and did the same there. He found but little Subsistence in all these Dominions; for *Kelly* was a subtle, sly Fellow who took care of himself; and so soon as he found that *Plantain* was on the victorious Side, he fled in the Night from his Associates, came to *Mannagora*, secured all he had of any Value there, and then fled to *Port Dolphin* to his Brother, where he sheltered himself for a time, till *Plantain* came again with an Army, and totally demolished both one and the other; for he now tyranniz'd over the Natives all over the Island. After he had burnt King *Kelly's* Town, he came down to *Ranter-Bay*, bringing the Lady before mention'd with him, which he accounted the chief Trophy of his Victory; who tho' she was with Child, he accepted of, and was much enamoured with her. This Woman having chiefly been brought up under the Care of her Father, who was by all Accounts a very honest Man, and was by him actually left behind at that Place; he had taught her the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the ten Commandments, and

gave her an Insight into the Christian Faith; but not having the Conveniency of Books, he could not so fully instruct her as he desired. By this Wife, *Plantain* has had several Children. When he brought her to *Ranter-Bay*, he made a grand Entertainment, and gave her the whole Government of his Household Affairs, discharging several of his other Women. This *Eleanor Brown* would often talk to him concerning Religion, ask him after GOD; and according to her Father's Directions, say her Prayers Night and Morning: On which account, *Plantain* used to say he had now got a religious Wife; but yet took what she said in good part. He cloath'd her with the richest Jewels and Diamonds he had, and gave her twenty Girl Slaves to wait on her. It was this Woman that Mr. *Christopher Lisle* would have been great with; for which Attempt *Plantain* shot him dead on the Spot. This *Lisle* was the fourth Mate to Capt. *Benson* of the *Dawson East-India Man*; for I was sent on board them off *Mount Dilley*, where he and the Captain had some very high Disputes, on which the Captain had confin'd him in Irons for a Mutiny; which *Lisle*, together with an Ensign of the Guards design'd for Bombay, had bred on board the said Ship. After I had acquainted Capt. *Cockburn* of what Capt. *Benson* alleged against them, the Captain sent me to fetch them on board of us. The Commodore was inform'd of this Affair, and he ordered that Mr. *Christopher Lisle* should walk the Quarter-Deck on board of the *Salisbury* (which was the Ship I then belong'd to) and do the Duty of a Midshipman. When we arrived at *Charnock Point*, Mr. *Lisle* run away from us the sec-

ond or third time of his going on shore. At his first coming on board Capt. *Cockburn*, (who always had a Regard for what Station a Man had serv'd in) he desired, as he was a Stranger on board, that I would let him mess with me: which I did, with the Captain's Approbation. But soon saw he was not only a quarrelsome Fellow, but one that was malicious, and slothful in performing his Duty. He said he was the Nephew of Capt. *Lisle* of *Stepney*, who formerly commanded the *Berwick* Man of War. I had his Note for Three Pound ten Shillings for Conveniencies he had of me; for tho' he was an Officer on board the *Dawson*, he was very bare, and had made away with most of his Effects. The Captain alledged, that he had broke open several Chests of Liquor in the Hold, and had converted it to his own Use; which was afterwards sufficiently prov'd against him. If he has any Friends now living, who have never heard of his End, this Account will be a Confirmation to them of his fatal Destiny, being killed by the Hand of a pyratrical King, as mentioned before. They may find him stand entered for his Majesty's Ship the *Salisbury* in the Month of *February* 1721-2, and run at *Charnock Point* on the Island of *Madagascar* in the *April* following 1722.

NOW *Plantain* had taken a considerable time to recover from his Fatigue, and recruit his Forces, which at last he did, tho' not with the desired Expedition: And after he had made sure of the Treasure he and the *Dane* had concealed, they got all things in readiness, and went over to *St. Mary's* Island to Capt. *Avery's* Castle, and took from thence some Materials

which they wanted, and being join'd by his Allies, he gave Order for his whole Forces to march for *Port Dolphin*, but they were very much fatigu'd in their way. Here young Capt. *Avery*, or *Molatto Tom*, as they generally call'd him, was of great Service to him, and kept a regular Discipline amongst the Army. This *Molatto Tom* was one that was so much fear'd amongst them, that at the very sight of him, they would seem to tremble. They often would have made him a King, but he never would take that Title upon him. He was a Man of tall Stature, very clean-limb'd, and of a pleasant Countenance. He had Hair on his Head, and no Wool; which I have often admired at, having seen several of this Mongrel Breed, who have all had Wool on their Heads. He had long black Hair like the *Malabar* or *Bengal Indians*; which made me think he might be the Son of Capt. *Avery*, got on some of the Indian Women he took in the *Moors* Ship, which had the Grand *Mogul's* Daughter on board. This is very probable; for he said he could not remember his Mother, but that he suck'd a black *Madagascar* Woman, which for some Years he took for his Mother, till he was told his Mother died when he was an Infant.

DURING the Season that *Plantain* was at his Castle, the time was spent in great Mirth and Entertainments amongst the *English* that were under his Protection. Several new Songs were made in token of his Victories, and at the End of almost every Verse was pronounced, *Plantain King of Ranter-Bay*; which he seem'd mightily pleas'd with, as well as with Dances perform'd by great Bodies of the Natives. After he

had destroy'd King *Dick*, and King *Kelley*, he established two Kings in their stead, leaving them to rebuild and make good what he had demolished. They were also tributary to him, and sent him in every Month, a certain number of Cattle of all sorts that the Places afforded; and they were to keep the Lands in good order, and to pay him Tribute for all sorts of Grain, Sugar-Canes, &c.

WHEN we were at *Mannagore*, we had the Opportunity of seeing several Entertainments by the Women of that Place, who came down and offered their Service to any that thought proper to accept of them. They gathered every Night one Hundred or more of them together, and formed a sort of hollow Square, where they used to sing and dance in their way. Amongst all these Women, they never have above two or three Men who dance with them and play on the Musick to them. This Island of *Madagascar* is very safe for Travellers, there being no manner of wild Beasts there to annoy them.



RAVENAU—GENTLEMAN— ADVENTURER

[From *The Monarchs of the Main* by G. W.
THORNBURY]

ON the 1st of January, 1687, leaving their ships in the bay of Caldaïra, the Buccaneers embarked 200 men in canoes and crossed to the island of La Cagna.

Their treacherous guide, under the pretence of hiding them in a covert, led them into a marsh, where the mud, in the soundest places, rose above their middles; five men sinking up to their chins were dragged out with ropes tied to the mangrove branches. The men, anxious for escape, lifted up their guide to the top of a tree, to discover by the moonlight where sound land commenced. But he, once at liberty, skipped like a monkey from tree to tree, railing at them and deriding their helplessness. They spent the whole night in marching a hundred paces round this marsh, and groped out at daybreak, bedaubed from head to toe, with their fire-arms loaded with mud. "When we were in a condition," says Lussan, "to reflect a little upon ourselves, and that we saw 200 men in the same habit, all so curiously equipped, there was not one of us who forgot not his toil to laugh at the posture he found both himself and the rest in." Inveighing against their guide, they returned to their

canoes, and proceeded two leagues up a river to an entrenchment, where they found the remains of two vessels the Spaniards had some time before burnt, at the approach of Betsssharp, an English free-booter. Guided by the barking of dogs, they surprised the borough of Santa Catalina, and, mounting sixty men on horses, entered Nicoya and drove out the enemy, carrying off the governor's plate and movables. They found here some letters from the President of Panama, describing the doings of "these new Turks," how they had landed at places where the sea was so high that no sentinels had been placed, and passed through the woods like wild beasts. The letters stated how much the Spaniards had been astonished by the Buccaneer mode of attack—"briskly falling on, singing, dancing, as if they had been going to a feast;" they were described also as "those enemies of God and His saints who profane His churches and destroy His servants." In one battle, it says, being blocked up, "they became as mad dogs. Whenever these irreligious men set their feet on land they always win the victory."

Landing at Caldaïra the sentinels set fire to the savannahs, through which they marched to Lesparso, and towards Carthage, but retired, hearing of 400 men and an entrenchment. Hiding five men in the grass, they captured a Spanish trooper, who had reviled them, and putting him to the rack, laughing at his grimaces of pain, heard that Grognet was in the neighbourhood, and soon after they heard cannons fired off, and were joined by him in three canoes.

He now told them his adventures at Napalla.

Three sailors, corrupted by the Spaniards, who had taken them prisoners, persuaded him on his return to visit a gold mine, fourteen leagues from the sea-shore. They luckily got there before the ambuscade, and took some prisoners and a few pounds of gold, but 450 lbs. weight had been removed an hour before. At their return they found the traitors and prisoners all escaped. He then landed at Puebla Vieja and attacked an ambuscade and entrenchment of 300 men. Half of these fled, half were made prisoners, and their three colours taken, the free-booters losing only three men. Eighty-five of his men then determined to visit California, and he and his sixty men to return to Panama. Grognet now consented to join in the French expedition, and, after taking Queaquilla, to force a way to the North Sea. They landed and burnt Nicoya a third time, and Lussan treats us here with an amusing piece of Buccaneer superstition. He says, "though we were *forced* to chastise the Spaniards in this manner, we showed ourselves very exact in the preservation of the churches, into which we carried the pictures and images of the saints which we found in particular houses, that they might not be exposed to the rage and burning of the English, who were not much pleased with these sorts of precautions; they being men that took more satisfaction and pleasure to see one church burnt than all the houses of America put together. But as it was our turn now to be the stronger party, they durst do nothing that derogated from that respect we bore to all those things." On their return the French had to force their way through burning savannahs, but got safe to

their ships, putting next day forty prisoners on shore who were too chargeable to keep.

A new division now arose between the English and French, and the former insisting on the first prize taken, the two parties again separated, Grognet staying with the former: making in all 142 men, Ravenau's party being 162, in a frigate and long bark. Both vessels now tried to outsail each other and reach Queaquilla first, but the French, soon finding the English beat them in speed, resolved to accompany them, for they had so little food as to be obliged to eat only once in every forty-eight hours, and but for rain water would have died of thirst. Off Santa Helena, they gave chase to a ship, and found it to be a prize laden with wine and corn, lately taken by Captain David's men, for they had been making descents along the coast, at Pisca had beaten off 800 men from Lima, and had also taken a great many ships, which they pillaged and let go. Having got to the value of 5000 pieces of eight a man, they sailed for Magellan, and on the way many of the men lost all they had by gaming. Those who had won joined Wilnett, and returned to the North Sea; but the losers, sixty English and twenty French, joined David, determined to remain and get more spoil in the South. Henry and Samms had gone to the East Indies. The eight men of David's crew who commanded the prize joined them against Queaquilla. Furling their sails to prevent being seen, they anchored off the White Cape, and at ten in the morning embarked 260 men in their canoes. On the 15th they reached, at sunset, the rocky island of Santa Clara, and on the 16th rested

all day, weak from long fasting, in the island of La Puna, escaping any detection from the forty sentinels. The 17th they spent on the same island, and arranged the attack. Captain Picard and fifty men led the forlorn hope, another captain and eighty grenadiers formed a reserve. Captain Grognet and the main body were to make themselves masters of the town and port, and the English captain, George Hewit, with fifty men, were to attack the smaller fort; while 1000 pieces of eight were promised to the first ensign who should plant the colours on the great fort. They left their covert in the evening, and hoped to reach the town by dawn, but only having three hours of favourable tide, had to remain all day at the island, and at night rowing out, were overtaken after all by the light, when a sentinel seeing them, set a cottage on fire and alarmed his companions. Marching across a wood to the fire, they killed two of the Spaniards and captured a boy. Remaining in covert all day, they thought themselves undiscovered, because the town had not answered the fire signal, and at night they rowed up the river, the rapid current carrying them four leagues in two hours. All the 19th they spent under cover of an island in the river, and at night went up with the current, not rowing for fear of alarming the sentinels. They attempted in vain to put in beyond the town, on the side least guarded, but the tide going out forced them to land two hours before day, within cannon shot of the town, where they could discern the lights burning, for the Spaniards burnt lamps all night. They landed in a marshy place, and had to cut a path through the bushes with

their sabres. They soon met with a sentinel, and were discovered by one of the men left to guard the canoes striking a light, against orders, to light his pipe. The sentinel, knowing that this was punishable by death among his countrymen, suspected enemies and discharged a paterero, which the fort answered by a discharge of all their cannon. The Buccaneers, overtaken by a storm, entered a large house near to light the matches of their grenades and wait for day, the enemy firing incessantly in defiance. On the 20th, at daybreak, they marched out in order, with drums beating and colours, and found 700 men waiting for them behind a wall, four feet and a-half high, and a ditch. Killing many of the Buccaneers at the onset, the enemy ventured to sally out, sword in hand, and were at once put to flight. In spite of the bridge being broken down, the pursuers crossed the ditch, and, getting to the foot of the wall, threw in grenades, and drove the enemy to their houses. Driven also from this, they fled to a redoubt in the Place d'Armes, and from thence, after an hour's fighting, to a third fort, the largest of all. Here they defended themselves a long time, firing continually at their enemies, who could not see them for the smoke. From these palisadoes they again sallied, and wounded several Buccaneers and took one prisoner. They at last retreated with great loss.

The Flibustiers, weary with eleven hours' fighting, and finding their powder nearly spent, grew desperate; but, redoubling their efforts, with some loss made themselves masters of the place, having nine men killed and a dozen wounded. Parties were then sent

out to pursue the fugitives, and a garrison having been put in the great fort, the Roman Catholic part of the band went to sing *Te Deum* in the great church.

Basil Hall describes Guayaquil as having on the one side a great marsh, and on the other a great river, while the country, for nearly 100 miles, is a continued level swamp, thickly covered with trees. The river is broad and deep, but full of shoals and strange turnings, the woods growing close to the water's edge, stand close, dark, and still, like two vast black walls; while along the banks the land-breeze blows hot, and breathes death, decay, and putrefaction.

The town was walled, and the forts built on an eminence. The houses were built of boards and reared on piles, on account of the frequent inundations. The chief trade of the place was cocoa.

The Buccaneers took 700 prisoners, including the governor and his family. He himself was wounded, as were most of his officers, who fought better than all the 5,000 men of the place. The place was stored with merchandise, precious stones, silver plate, and 70,000 pieces of eight. Upwards of three millions more had been hidden while the fort was taking. As soon as the canoes had come up, they were sent in pursuit of the treasure, but it was too late. They captured, however, 22,000 pieces of eight, and a vermillion gilt eagle, weighing 66 lbs., that had served as the tabernacle for some church. It was of rare workmanship, and the eyes were formed of two great "rocks of emeralds." There were fourteen barks in the port—the galleys they had fought at Puebla Nueva, and two royal ships unfinished on the stocks.

As a ransom for all these things, the governor promised a million pieces of eight in gold, and 400 sacks of corn, requiring the vicar-general to be released to go to Quito and procure it.

The women of the town, who were very pretty, had been assured by their confessors that the Buccaneers were monsters and cannibals, and had conceived a horror and aversion to them. "They could not be dispossessed thereof," says Lussan, "till they came to know us better. But then I can boldly say that they entertained quite different sentiments of our persons, and have given us frequent instances of so violent a passion as proceeded sometimes even to a degree of folly." As a proof of the calumnies circulated against the ruthless conquerors, Lussan tells us the following:—"It is not from a chance story," he continues, "that I came to know the impressions wrought in these women that we were men that would eat them; for the next day after the taking of the town, a young gentlewoman that waited upon the governor of the place, happened to fall into my hands. As I was carrying her away to the place where the rest of the prisoners were kept, and to that end made her walk before me, she turned back, and, with tears in her eyes, told me, in her own language—'Senor, pur l'amor di Dios ne mi como'—that is, 'Pray, sir, for the love of God, do not eat me;' whereupon I asked her who had told her that we were wont to eat people? She answered, 'The fathers,' who had also assured them that we had not human shape, but that we resembled monkeys.

On the 21st, part of the town was accidentally burnt

down by some of the men lighting a fire in a house, and leaving it unextinguished when they returned at night to the court of guard. Afraid that it would reach the place where they had stored their powder and merchandise, the French removed all the plunder to their vessels, and carried the prisoners to the fort; but not till all this was done endeavouring to save the town, a third part of which was, by this time, destroyed. Afraid the Spaniards might now refuse to pay the ransom, they charged them with the offence, threatening to send some fifty prisoners' heads if they did not pay them what they had lost by the fire. The enemy, surprised at this, attributed the incendiarism to traitors, and promised satisfaction. The stench of the 900 dead carcasses, still lying unburied up and down the town, now producing a pestilence, the Buccaneers dismounted and spiked the cannon, and carried off the 500 prisoners to their ships, anchoring at Puna. Captain Grognet died of his wounds soon after this removal. The Spaniards obtaining four days' further respite, and then still further delaying the ransom, the adventurers made the prisoners throw dice for their lives, and cutting off the heads of four, sent them to Queaquilla, threatening further deaths. They were now joined by Captain David and a prize he had lately taken. He was planning a descent on Païta, to obtain refreshments for some men wounded in a fight with a Spanish ship, the *Catalina*, off Lima. They fought for two days, David's men, being drunk, constantly getting to leeward, and failing twenty times in an attempt to board. The Spaniards, gaining courage from these failures, hoisted the bloody flag; but the third day,

David, getting sober, got his tackle and rigging in good order, got properly to windward, and bore down with determination. The enemy in terror ran ashore, and went to pieces in two hours. Two men were saved by a canoe, and said that their captain had had his thigh shot off by a cannon ball. David's ship, wanting refitting, was employed to cruise in the bay to prevent surprises from the Spaniards. By a letter taken from a courier, they found that the people of Queaquilla were only endeavouring to obtain time.

The Buccaneers spent thirty days on the island of La Puna, living on the luxurious food brought from Queaquilla, and employing the prisoners with lutes, theorbos, harps, and guitars, to delight them by perpetual concerts and serenades. Lussan says, "Some of our men grew very familiar with our women prisoners, who, without offering them any violence, were not sparing of their favours, and made appear, as I have already remarked, that after they came once to know us, they did not retain all the aversion for us that had been inculcated into them when we were strangers unto them. All our people were so charmed with this way of living that they forgot their past miseries, and thought not more of danger from the Spaniards than if they had been in the middle of Paris."

Ravenau also treats us with his own personal love adventure, which we insert as a curious illustration of the vicissitudes of a South Sea adventurer's life. "Amongst the rest," he says, "myself had one pretty adventure. Among the other prisoners we had a young gentlewoman, lately become a widow of the

treasurer of the town, who was slain when it was taken. Now this woman appeared so far comforted for her loss, out of an hard-heartedness they have in this country one for another, that she proposed to hide me and herself in some corner of the island till our people were gone, and that then she would bring me to Queaquilla to marry her, that she would procure me her husband's office, and vest me in his estate, which was very great. When I had returned her thanks for such obliging offers, I gave her to understand that I was afraid her interest had not the mastery over the Spaniards' resentments; and that the wounds they had received from us were yet too fresh and green for them easily to forget them. She went about to cure me of my suspicion, by procuring secretly, from the governor and chief officers, promises under their hands how kindly I should be used by them. I confess I was not a little perplexed herewith, and such pressing testimonies of goodwill and friendship towards me brought me, after a little consultation with myself, into such a quandary, that I did not know which side to close with; nay, I felt myself, at length, much inclined to close with the offers made me, and I had two powerful reasons to induce me thereunto, one of which was the miserable and languishing life we lead in those places, where we were in perpetual hazard of losing it, which I should be freed from by an advantageous offer of a pretty woman and a considerable settlement: the other proceeded from the despair I was in of ever being able to return into my own country, for want of ships fit for that purpose. But when I began to reflect upon these

things with a little more leisure and consideration, and that I resolved with myself how little trust was to be given to the promises and faith of so perfidious as well as vindictive a nation as the Spaniards, and more especially towards men in our circumstances, by whom they had been so ill-used, this second reflection carried it against the first, and even all the advantages offered me by this lady. But however the matter was, I was resolved, in spite of the grief and tears of this pretty woman, to prefer the continuance of my troubles (with a ray of hope of seeing France again), before the perpetual suspicion I should have had of some treachery designed against me. Thus I rejected her proposals, but so as to assure her I should retain, even as long as I lived, a lively remembrance of her affections and good inclinations towards me."

After some negotiation with a priest, the people of Queaquilla brought in twenty-four sacks of meal, and 20,000 pieces of eight in gold. On their refusing more than 22,000 pieces of eight more for ransom, a council was held to decide upon putting all the prisoners to death, but at last, Ravenau being in the majority, decided to spare them. They then took fifty of the richest prisoners with them to the point of St. Helena, and surrendered the rest on 22,000 more being paid.

While at La Puna, the Buccaneers sallied out to attack two Spanish armadillas, but not having any piraguas to tow them to the windward, could only cannonade at a distance. The French vessels were much shattered, but no man killed. The next day they came to a close fight, both sides using small arms

and great guns, but no Buccaneer was killed. The Spaniards lost many men, and the blood ran out of their scupper holes, but they still cried at parting, "A la mañana, la partida"—(to-morrow, again). The next night the Buccaneers unrigged and sank one of their prizes, and fitted out another, manning her with twenty Frenchmen, who wanted to leave David. The same night four Spaniards seized one of the prizes, and escaped to Queaquilla. Being now within half cannon shot, the rival vessels pounded each other all day; the French had their tackle spoiled, and sails riven, and the frigate received five cannon-shot in the foremast, and three in the mainmast, but had not one man killed or wounded. The next day the Spaniards hoisted Burgundian colours, and poured in volleys of musket-shot, but neither party boarded. The ensuing day the Buccaneer musketry was so destructive, that the Spaniards closed their port-holes and bore up to the wind. That day the French received sixty shots in their sides, two-thirds between wind and water, the rigging was torn, and Ravenau and another man were wounded. At night the Spaniards failed in an attempt to board. We spent this night at anchor, says Lussan, to stop our cannons' mouths, which otherwise might have sent us into the deep. To his astonishment, the next morning the armadillas had fled. During these successive days' fighting, the governor and officers of Queaquilla had been brought on deck to witness the defeat of their countrymen.

They then set their prisoners ashore and divided the plunder, the whole amounting to 500,000 pieces of eight, or 15,000,000 livres, and in shares to 400

pieces of eight a man. The uncoined gold and the precious stones being of uncertain value were sold by auction, that those who had silver and had won in gambling might buy. All who expected an overland expedition were anxious for jewels, as more portable and less heavy than silver. They sought now in their descent for nothing but gold and jewels, quite disregarding silver as a mean metal and heavy to carry. They even left many things in Queaquilla, and neglected to send a canoe for the 100 caons of coined silver (11,000 pieces of eight in all) which had been sent to the opposite river side. Taking advantage of their indifference, Spanish thieves mixed with the Buccaneers, and pillaged their own countrymen. They landed at Point Mangla, and surprised a watch of fifteen Spanish soldiers who had been placed to guard a river abounding in emeralds. A few days after they took a vessel from Panama going to Porto Bello to buy negroes off the point of Harina. The French fleet was next attacked by a Spanish galley and two piraguas. From a prisoner they heard of 300 Frenchmen, who had defeated 600 Spaniards and killed their leader in the savannahs. While careening in the bay of Mapalla they were joined by these men, who proved to be part of Grognet's men, who had left their companions on the coast of Acapulco, refusing to go further towards California.

The adventures next landed in the Bay of Tecoauntepequa, and dispersing a body of 300 Spaniards, drawn up upon an eminence, marched inland towards the town, sleeping all night in the open air. Nothing but

hunger and despair could have induced this attack. The town was intersected by a great and very rapid river, encompassed by eight suburbs, and defended by 3000 men. The Buccaneers forded the river, the water up to their middles, and after an hour's fighting forced the Spaniards from their entrenchment. In two hours these men, enraged with hunger, took the place by hand-to-hand fighting, and eighty sailors then dislodged the enemy from the abbey of St. Francis, whose terraces commanded the town. Finding the river was overflowing and no ransom coming, the Buccaneers departed the next day, and landing at Vatulco, took the old governor of Merida prisoner, and obtained some provisions. They also landed at Muemeluna and victualled, the Spaniards having strong entrenchments, but making little resistance. They found upon the shore the musket and dead body of a sailor of a frigate that had attempted to land a month before. The Spaniards had not seen the body, or they would have cut in pieces or burnt it, as they were in the habit of even digging up the Buccaneers buried on their shores. At Sansonnat they landed in the face of 600 Spaniards to fill their water-casks, being faint from thirst. One of the men, more impatient than the rest, and goaded by four days' drought, swam ashore and was drowned, without any being able to help him.

They now held serious councils about the return by land. The prisoners declared their best way was by Segovia, where they would *only* meet 5000 or 6000 Spaniards, and that the way was easy for the sick and wounded. The French determined to land and ob-

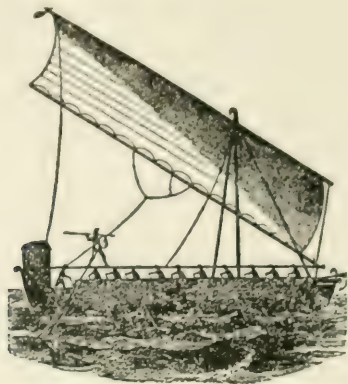
tain more certain information, and this was one of the most daring of their adventures. They landed seventy men, and marched two days without meeting anybody, upon which eighteen, less weary than the rest, tramped on and soon got into a high road. Capturing three horsemen, they learnt that they were but a quarter of a league distant from Chiloteca, a little town with about 400 white inhabitants, besides negroes, Indians, and mulattoes, who were not aware of their approach. Afraid to waste time in running back after their companions, they entered the town, frightened the Spaniards, and took the Teniente and fifty others prisoners. Had there not been horses ready mounted, on which they made their escape, the enemy would, every man, have submitted to be bound, being overcome with a panic fear, and believing the enemy very numerous. They learned from the prisoners that the Panama galley lay waiting for them at Caldaíra, and the *St. Lorenzo*, with thirty guns, at Realegua. They also said that 600 men would be in the town by the next day. The Spaniards now began to rally, and compelled the Buccaneers to entrench themselves in the church. The prisoners, seeing them hurry in, and thinking them hard pressed, ran to a pile of arms and prepared to make a resistance; but the Buccaneers, retreating to the doors, fired at the crowd till only four men and their wives were left alive. They then mounted horses and retreated, carrying off four prisoners of each sex, and firing at a herald who tried to parley. Joining their companions, whom they found resting at a hatto, they made a stand and drove back 600 Spaniards.

The statements of the prisoners increased their fears of the overland route, but determining rather to die sword in hand than to pine away with hunger, they at once resolved upon their design. Running all the vessels ashore but the galley and piraguas, which would take them from the island to the mainland, leaving no other means of escape to the timorous, they formed four companies of seventy men, choosing ten men from each as a forlorn hope, to be relieved every morning. Those who were lamed were to have, as formerly, 1000 pieces of eight, the horses were to be kept for the crippled and wounded. The stragglers who were wounded were to have no reward, whilst violence, cowardice, and drunkenness were to be punished. While maturing their plans, a Spanish vessel approached, and anchoring, began to fire at the grounded vessels, and soon put them out of a condition to sail. Afraid of losing their piraugas, the Buccaneers sent their prisoners and baggage to some flats behind the island. The next day, the Frenchmen, sheltering themselves behind the rocks that ran out to sea, kept the vessel at a distance; but now afraid of total destruction, the Buccaneers sent 100 men to the continent at night to secure horses, and wait for them at a certain port. On the next day the Spanish ship took fire, and put out to sea to extinguish the flames. The next day the Buccaneers escaped by a stratagem. Having spent the whole night in hammering the vessel, as if careening, to prevent all suspicion of their departure, they charged all their guns; grenades, and four pieces of cannon, and tied to them pieces of lighted matches of various

lengths, in order to keep up an alarm throughout the night. In the twilight they departed as secretly as they could, the prisoners carrying the surgeons' medicines, the carpenters' tools, and the wounded men.

On the 1st of January, 1688, the Buccaneers arrived on the continent. On the evening of the same day the men joined them with sixty-eight horses and several prisoners, all of whom dissuaded them in vain from attempting to go by Segovia, where the Spaniards were fully alarmed. The men, nothing deterred, packed up each his charge, and thrust their silver and ammunition into bags. Those who had too much to carry, gave it to those who had lost theirs by gaming, promising them half in "case it should please God to bring them safe to the North Sea." Ravenau de Lussan tells us his charge was lighter but not less valuable than the others, as he had converted 30,000 pieces of eight into pearls and precious stones. "But as the best part of this," he says, "was the product of luck I had at play, some of those who had been losers, as well in playing against me as others, becoming much discontented at their losses, plotted together to the number of seventeen or eighteen, to murder those who were richest amongst us. I was so happy as to be timely advertised of it by some friends, which did not a little disquiet my mind, for it was a very difficult task for a man, during so long a journey, to be able to secure himself from being surprised by those who were continually in the same company, and with whom we must eat, drink, and sleep, and who could cut off whom they pleased of us in the conflicts they

might have with the Spaniards, by shooting us in the hurry." To frustrate this scheme, Ravenau therefore divided his treasure among several men, and by this means removed a weight both from his mind and body.



THE CORSAIRS

From "Mr. Roberts, his Voyage to the Levant," by
JOHN ROBERTS]

Mr. Roberts *his Voyage to the Levant, with an Account of his sufferings amongst the Corsairs, their Villanous way of Living, and his Description of the Archipelago Islands.*

Together with his Relation of Taking, and Retaking of Scio in the year 1696.

I WAS cast away *June 12. 1692.* in the Haven of *Nio*, in his Majesties hired ship, the *Arcanagally*, which sunk, as it was there Careening. Having lost a considerable value in her, I was in hopes to get part of my loss again, our Ship being sunk in but 17 foot Water: So I stayed behind, but most of our Men went away in a *French Prize* we had taken. The next day I agreed with a *Greek* to carry me for *Scio*, from whence I could get passage for *Smirna*, and so Transport my self home again. But the third day being *June the 15th*, I was frustrated of my design; for a *Crusal* or *Corsair* coming into the Harbor, he immediately sent his Boat ashoar, where meeting with five more of our Men, who were also left behind, he soon with fair words got them on board; who presently told him of me. So ashoar they came, in search of me; and one of them being a *Genuese*, soon found me.

Upon our meeting, he saluted me with a kiss, and called me by my Name, having learned it of our Men; for I never saw him in my Life before. He invited me to drink, which I refused, as partly knowing his design; and I had heard how miserably Men lived in a Crusal. Seeing therefore that all his Wits would not take, he left me. In the Evening came to me an *English Man*, who had sailed in her 8 years, his Name was *Dawes*, he was a Native of *Saltash* in *Cornwall*, whom we had taken out of this Crusal, before our Ship was lost: But he, like a Dog returning to his Vomit, went on board again; where he yet remains, for ought I know. Then came a *Dane*, and he strove to wheedle me: After him a *Livorneze* with a Letter from the Captain, promising me great Rewards, if I would come on board and be his gunner; all which I utterly refused, and denied: So that *June* the 16th, coming to the Water-side to Embark for *Scio*, there came out of the rocks 12 Rogues, whereof this *Dawes* was one, laid hold of me, and carried me on board on the Star-board side; where I no sooner ascended, but came a fellow and clapped a chain on my Legg, and no one spoke to me one word. Neither did I see any Captain in five days time, but then he called to me, and asked me to serve him, which I utterly denied: Whereupon he called me Dog, and said he would make me leave my *Lutheran* bones in the *Archipelago*, for pretending to go to *Turkey* to betray him. I answered, I had no such thoughts, neither knew I how to go about it; but I knew that the *Greeks* Traded with the *Turks* daily, and could give them intelligence; and that for my part, I had never been in *Turkey* in my life, but all my plead-

ing was in vain: For he knew that in these poor distressed Isles, was no more Justice to be had, than what his accursed self would allow, so that I was forced to remain there. Money he offered me, to the value of ten Dollars, but them I was advised to refuse, by a friend who assured me, if I took none, he would in a short time let me go: So to Sea we went, where he knockt off my Chains, and ordered me to cunn the Ship, in which station I continued for three Months. Crusal is a word, mistakingly used, for Corsair; which in *English* signifies a Privateer; wherein we acted our part, not in taking *Turkish* Vessels, but *Greek* Saicks, or any small Ships that came in our way. When I had spent 3 Months in this unpleasing Traffick, I was preferred forsooth to be Mr. Gunner, but God knows it came upon me by compulsion; for the Captain having first beat the old *Livorneze* Gunner severely, who was a Man of 60 years of Age, he commanded me into the Gun-room, to take the charge of what was there; which with an unwilling willingness I did, and continued there till I made my escape; before which I shall give a little account in the mean time, of my manner of living. The first three Months I Eat with the Lieutenant, and afterwards with the Captain, it being the *Italian* Custom in all Ships: Who while I was Gunner, would often tell me, I should have all the Patereroes we took, which was really my due; tho for 35 Patereroes and 70 Chambers, I never had any more than two Dollars, and seven Ryals, being all the Money I ever saw for my sixteen Months Service. In the mean while to make my Captivity (as I may say) as easie as I could; I always imployed my self to Study, and

having a *Greek* Boy allowed me, that spake *Turkish*, *Greek*, and *Italian*, (of the latter whereof, I was almost Master ere I came here) I did by the Boys means, get an insight in the other two: Besides which, my way of living was such, that I always took great notice wheresoever I went, of the Isles, Ports, Roads, and Soundings, and set down the same constantly in writing, which added to my Experience; and made me pass away the time so much the more pleasantly: But to shew you the life of a poor Saylor here, I am sure nothing can paralell it for the badness thereof: When they are in Port, they have the Ballast to heave out and in, and fetch burthens of Wood, and Barricades of water a large half Mile on their Backs; and when that is not always to do, they are otherwise constantly imploy'd to carry one Anchor out, and to get the other on Board; to shift the fasts on shoar, and then haul and tug them up to Dry: In fine, they are never at rest; and if our Labour was hard, our Fare was worse. We had a Steward that had but one hand, and that was the measure by which our Bread was measured three times a day, and that was all we had: Only on Sundays and Thursdays, we had a kettle of Horse-beans boiled, and well salted, and some times one quarter of a pint of Oyl thrown on them, as they boiled. But some insinuating fellows that complained to the Steward of some bodies Misdemeanor, whereof he might have somewhat to tell the Captain, got a *Sardinia*, which was a great favour: Note that a *Sardina* is a small Fish like a Sprat, very salt. But otherwise while we were out at Sea, we never had any thing but Bread, only when we got on *Rhodes* or *Cyprus*, and had the

luck to steal some Cattle, which we often did; then we got our guts full of Tripe, and Liver-heads, and when the Flesh was kept so long for the Captain till it stank, then we had that for our Food. As for the manner of our taking a Prize, we generally run a Saick on board with the Ship at once; then into her we jump, and had time enough allowed us to Plunder: From whence we returned on board with our Booty, and no body molested us. But when we had been on board 3 or 4 days, and thought all was secure; then all hands were called up fore and aft, and down went the Lieutenant, Boat-Swain's Mate, and he that looked after the Slaves, and ransackt all our Bags and Baskets (Chests we had none, there being but one in the whole Ship) and they brought all to the Captain: Who if he found any poor fellow have got any one thing that was worth a Dollar, or the like, he took it away; and told him, he would bid the Steward put it up for him, but he never sees it any more. So the poor Souls go always Naked, only sometimes they get a few Rags, that he cannot for shame take from them: But I knew forty in the Ship, that swore they had not wore Shoe nor Stocking in 8 years; and whose Lodging is on the softest Plank they can find: You will moreover find another sort of Gentry here, by which all this Roguery is maintained: (*viz.*) Voluntiers. These are a pack of Rogues which are kept here for that purpose, and distributed through the Ship, to tell tales of the rest. There is in every Ship about forty of them; whereof one Gang eats with the Captain, another with the Lieutenant, another with the Steward, and another with the Boat-Swain: These are all at the Captain's

Devotion, whom he chiefly Trusts, and may safely do it: For if they beat them, they will not go away, for they are all Run-away's, some having merited the Gallows, others Fire and Faggot for Sodomy, and some the Gallies for Theft: So they dare not stir, being here secure from all; and what Plunder is gotten, these Villains have it. Now you may wonder, that there is never any Rebellion in these Ships; 'tis true, sometimes there happens a Mutiny, and whenever it does, it is for want of their Complement of these Hell-hounds: For where they are, 'tis impossible to do any thing: For they are in and out among you Night and Day, and if any one happen to say any thing a miss, whip 'tis at the Captains Ears, and the Offender severely punished; nay, it may be, clapt in Chains for six Months together, below in the hold among the Slaves, on the cold Ballast. Now you will say, why not they run away when they go ashoar? But that likewise is as 'twere impossible, for they will give them liberty to go ashoar, on any Island in the *Archipelago*: *Melo* excepted, whose Inhabitants there will not be fooled by them. But on any of the other Islands, if a Man deserts, the Lieutenant goes ashoar and lays hold of ten or more *Greek Priests* (being the Men of most Note) and carries them on board, who are hereupon acquainted by the Captain, that they must send to their Neighbours, and let him get his Men again, or he would carry them to Sea with him in Chains: Upon this, they immediately send on shoar, and away goes 2 or 3 hundred of the Natives in a drove, and leave not a Stone unturned, till they have found the Run-away and brought him on board; where ten to one,

but he is punished with the Strapadoe at the Yard-Arm, and then for 8 or 10 Months lies in Chains: Others who have got privately ten Dollars by chance, have given them to a *Greek* to hide them; but they are so false, that for another Dollar, they will inform the Captain where they lie, and he shall go to the place, and find them him self; so the false *Greek* is not as much as mistrusted.

As for the manner of their setting out first from *Legorne*; they fit their Ship in the Mould, having got some of these Rogues by friends out of Prison, some out of the Baniard; others run from *Genoa*, and abundance from *Corsica*, who fearing that Justice will overtake them, if they stay there, they Embark on board the *Crusal*, and having them there, the Ship is half Manned: Then they haul out into the Road, and they begin to decoy all sorts of People and Nations they can pick up: Some of these *Voluntiers* coming a shoar, (*i.e.*) them that dare come upon Land, go about from one Tavern to the other, seeking who they can pick up; and having got a Prize they carry him to the Captain, who kindly salutes him, giving him a glass of Wine, and a clean Towel to wipe his Lips: And then to strike a bargain, the Captain he speaks, and if any of his Gang is near him, they affirm the truth to a thousand Lies. The Captain tells him he has got a brave Ship, and to be sure, 8 or 10 Guns more than she can carry, and that he does not want Men, but he would carry more then his Company for Manning of Prizes; assuring him, that he is to stay out but three years at most, and in that time, no fear but they might get 2 or 3 thousand Dollars *per* Man. This allures the

poor ensnared fool, and he is promised 50, 60, or 80 Dollars, if he be a brisk fellow: So he gives him ten or fifteen in hand, and tells him he has no more Money at present, than what he has occasion for, but bids him go and view the town, and come again at his Leisure. Away goes the poor fellow, thinking to give him the slip, but he shall not budge nor stir, for he shall have a Spy at his Heels constantly; Nay, eat and drink with him, and shall not know it: And if he is minded to be gone quite from thence, then he shall have the Spiroes or Bailiffs ready to throw him into Prison, and keep him there while the Ship Sails; and thence forward he never gets one farthing more. But now if he be pliable, and two or three days after comes for the rest of his Money; then the Captain pretends to be very busie, and sends one along with him to the water side, where the Boat lies; and having not hands sufficient to corry her off, he desires him to help, and at the same time gives a seeming charge to the Coxon, to tell the Lieutenant to let him come ashoar again with the Boat for his Money, though the Coxon had another private Order before to detain him. So that when he is got once a board, he sees no more Shoar nor Money. As for the way how the Corsair gets his Provision in the Arches, being commonly little more than bread: He makes the *Greeks* bring him the same from Island to Island at his own price, and they must do it, though they have none left for themselves; and for other Provision, he gets the same out of Prizes, as he does also his Rigging and Cables: And towards Winter, when he has a mind to lie up, then he brings a Prize in with him, Careens his Ship, and rips up the

Prize to Repair her; so that if an old Ship comes into the Arches, and stays out twenty year, she is a far better Ship when she goes home, then when she went out: And for their powder, they get it from *French Merchant-Men* at *Melo*, or else from the *Venetian Armado*.

Next I shall say somewhat concerning the Wintering and places of Cruising all times of the year: They lie up commonly at *Paris*, *Anteparis*, *Nio*, and *Melo*; from the middle of *December*, to the beginning of *March*; and then they go for the Furnoes, and lie there under the high Land hid, having a watch on the Hill with a little Flag, whereby they make a Signal, if they see any Sail: They slip out and lie athwart the Boak of *Samos*, and take their Prize; they lie in the same nature under *Necaria*, and *Gadronise*, and *Lepiso* in the Spring, and fore-part of the Summer: Then for the middle of Summer, they ply on the Coast of *Cyprus*; and if they hear the least noise of any *Algerines* and grand *Turks* Ships at *Rhodes*, away they scour for the Coast of *Alexandria* and *Damiata*, being shole Water, well knowing the *Turks* will not follow them thither. The latter part of the Summer, they come stealing on the Coast of *Syria*, where they do most mischief with their *Feleucca*, which commonly Rows with 12 Oars, and carries 6 Sitters: For at Night they leave the Ship, and get under the shoar before Day, and hide the *Feleucca* in a hole, and go all ashoar, where they way-lay the *Turks*, and take sometimes a Dozen of them at a time, whom they bring on board the Ship, and so sail away to those places where these *Turks* live, (*viz.*) to *Tripoly-Soria*,

Joppa, Caipha, St. John de Acres, Sidon, or Barute, and come to an Anchor without Gun-shot when they hoist a white Ensign, and fire a Gun: Hereupon the *Turks* will come off and treat with them, for the Redemption of their Slaves. From hence towards the *Autumn* they come lurking in about the Islands, to and fro about the Boakes again, till they put in also to lie up in the Winter. As for the Prizes they make; if they take a Saick coming from the Black Sea laden with Wood, which they call light Prizes; they carry them to *Paris* or *Melo*, where they soon dispatch them: But if they take one coming from *Alexandria* Laden with Rise, Coffee, Sugar, Lentils, Linnen, &c. then all the Island is allarmed, and happy is he that can come first, to bestow his Talent. Then the poor Saylors it may be, steal a measure or two of Lentils or Rise, and save it as if it were so much gold: I have given an account before of their Diet, and for their Drink, it is fair Water only, and nothing else, except when they Row the Ship for half a day together in Chase, they get a cup of Wine mixt with Water served to them.

As for the Number of Ships they used this Trade in the *Levant*; what Guns, Colours, and Men they carred, how long they had been out;

The *St. Hellena* wherein I was, had two Captains, (*viz.*) *Josepi Pretiosi*, and *Angelo Francisco*, both Natives of *Corsica*: We had *Lovorneze* Colours, carryed 20 Guns, 30 Patereroes, and 230 Men: The Ship was out the first time nine Years when she returned home and went again with one Captain *Angelo*; and has been out this time four years, with the same Number of Guns, Men and Colours.

The *Annuntiation* was commanded by *John Peragola*, a Native of *Corsica*, having *Livorneze* Colours, 22 Guns, 16 Patereroes, and 230 Men, the same had been out 6 years.

The *Caravel* was Commanded by *John Vecho*, having *Portuguese* Colours, 12 Guns, 8 Patereroes, 109 Men; and had been out 19 Years. This last is a *Cor-sicane* too.

The *Madona* of Mount *Negroa*, was Commanded by Captain *Franciscine*, a Native of *Corsica*, having *Livornese* Colours, 16 Guns, 10 Patereroes, 160 Men; and had been out four Years and a half.

St. Barbara was Commanded by *Antony Sicar Provensal*, and had *French* owners, he carried *Venetian* Colours, 24 Guns, 12 Patereroes, 200 Men, and had been out eight Years.

Here were moreover three Maltese, but they dare not stay out above five years; so that I cannot tell whether they are there all now or no: The biggest was called the great *Cavalier*, and was Commanded by a Knight, having 36 Guns, and 20 Patereroes. There is another of 14 Guns, and the little *Cavalier*, Commanded by a Knight, has but 6 Guns, 12 Patereroes, and 70 or 80 Men.

Now to come to the manner of the Corsairs, giving an account to their Owners of any Prize taken coming out of the Black Seas, Laden with Wood; they give in an account only of a light Saick, although they make Money of every Stick of it; and perhaps the Saick shall give 50 or 60 Thousand Dollars to purchase her

Lading: But for another Saick, he may account ten Thousand Dollars, if in company with another Ship; if the Captain be but new made, who for that reason is willing to shew himself Fortunate at first to his Owners, and thereupon gets Encouragement, and is reckoned a *Gallanthuomo*, or an honest Man; though afterwards he gets his Trade as right as the rest: But when they take a Saick Laden with Rice, Coffee, Sugar, &c. it may be of 250 or 300 Tuns Burthen, the general way is, that the Owners have an account of a Saick of 100 Tuns Laden with Rice, and 6 or 10 Bales of Coffee; when, it may be, she had 80, 90, or 100, as often they have on Board: And in pursuance thereof, a *French* Statee is fraughted of 60 Tuns, and sent for *Leghorn* with 60 Tuns of Rice and the Coffee, the rest being charged for Provision, and given to the Men, who poor Souls, have the least share. Then also what Slaves are not able to Redeem themselves, are packed off for *Leghorn*, but such as are able to do it, there is never any account of them; which amount perhaps to 50 or 60 in a year, more or less, for the Money will flow in little room. After all, comes in a large Bill, with *Item* for Tallow, *Item* for Pitch, *Item* for Carpenters, *Item* for Provision, in General; *Item* for Powder, *Item* for Small-shot, *Item* for Oacum, *Item* for Cottoning, Twine and Rope, and I know not what: But there are ten *Item's*, where there need but one. However, by the long staying out of the Ship, the Owner is in the end a Gainer, by a continual supply of Slaves, which brings him in daily interest.

and by the Men's being never paid their Wages. *Don Antony Paule*, the chief owner in *Leghorn*, had at least 400 Slaves which work'd about the Town daily, and paid him so much *per Week*. The Truth of this I can swear to, for our two Captains never feared to let me know any thing, being a Foreigner: And our Scrivener dying, I had the opportunity to write several of their *Item-Bills* (for they were afraid to trust any other) many times; wherein among other Extravagancies, they have charged 3 Barrels of Powder being fired at a Statee, that we never saw. For what concerns their Officers shares, small and great, the same is as follows. The Lieutenant is put in Master of the Prize, and has the Cabbin, and all that is in it, Money excepted; and if he steals a little, he is winked at, being it may be private to some of their Intreagues. The Boat-swain is allowed the Saick's Topsail, and he must allow his Mate the third of it, and the *Castiliane* or Yeoman a third of that again; they are allowed the Sheet-Anchor also, but the Saicks have mostly great Grapling Irons, and they get them: The Boat-Swain is allowed to sell Wine, and no one else, till he has done, must do the like: But then his Mate begins, who has the priviledge to let out Cards to play, and receives 3 parees *per Dollar* advance: But this only from the Main-Mast forward; for the Voluntiers getting Money, are always at Play, yet must keep no Cards of their own. When the Liquor is spent, the Steward may begin his shew, and the Serjeant has the priviledge of the Cards abaft

the Mast. The Steward, Chaplain, Scrivener, Doctor, Carpenter, and Caulker, have their respective shares out of a Store-room that is in the Saicks Bow, called *Camera de Sarica*; and such poor Gunners as I was, especially Foreigners, have the Patereroes when they can get them. As for the Saicks, they have usually several Cabbins forward, and a kind of a half Deck abaft; all which the Men Plunder, after the Voluntiers have done: But if they find any thing of value, the Captain takes it, and gives it the Steward to lay up, that it may not be stole from them; which he perswades them it will be, if kept between Deck, but himself is the Thief, for they never see it more, as I have said already.

Having told you how he deals with the Captivated *Turks*; I shall now proceed to shew how they use the poor *Greeks*; they take in the Saicks First they threaten the Master severely, especially of a Wood-laden Saick, to make him confess what Money there is; and then if they find him fearful and pliable, as they generally are, they give him 10 Dollars, and send him away packing: But if he be Morose and Sullen, then they plague him for 3 or 4 Months, and are not afraid of his going to *Leghorn* to make his Complaint, or that he can give any intelligence to their Owner, how much Goods he had on Board, as not knowing what a Bill of Lading is: Only he has an old doting Scrivener with him, who has only a *Manifesto* in general, which they immediately get from him: But at last he has his Liberty, however if they want Men, or are going in to Careen, they will detain a Dozen of

the best of them: And if there is ever a Carpenter, or Caulker among them, he is fast in for his Life-time; or if there be ever a fair-faced Lad among them, he must stay to be a *Comarada* to some lustful *Voluntario*.

These Corsairs go sometimes in Consort two or three together, but cruise in several Stations; and when they come in, they share their Botty very justly. And so it is, that if two or more Corsairs that are not Consorts are near one Station, but out of sight one of the other, yet if one takes a Prize, and the other hears the Guns, and meets that which made the Prize six Months after, he will have a Share according as his Ship is, either more or less in bigness: And they have this as an establish'd Law among themselves, and do keep it to the utmost Punctillio. But I think in all other things they are lawless: And except I were again intangled as before, I should prefer seven Years Slavery in *Algier*, as a far better Choice than to live 16 Months in a Crusal: From both which I pray God to deliver me and all Men.

The manner of Punishing Persons for petty Crimes, *viz.* for staying or going ashore without leave, and returning again of their own accord, &c. is as follows, They are brought before the Capstane, and seized fast with a Crow of Iron at their Heels. Then a Slave beates them with a Rope of two Inches thick, on their bare Backs, until the Captain bids him leave off: And when the Slave can lay on no longer, who is all the while egged on by a Renagado *Greek* that looks after the Slaves, the other takes him in hand: And then the Captain next belabours him with his Cane, who if he finds they do not perform their Work

Authentickly, Canes them all three without Mercy.

They use the same Method for him that is at Top-mast Head; for if those that are above Deck see a Sail (which, by reason of the high Land, they often do) before him that is aloft, then he is relieved and brought to the Capstane; and his Due, according to the Rigour, is 500 Blows, but he seldom escapes with less than the best half.

Now I come to relate the manner of my Escape from the Corsairs.

You must note, I would have put it in practice sooner than I did, but I had all the while a little Dutch Boy in my Company, that came out of *England* with me in the *Arcana* Galley, and my Resolution was to have liv'd and dy'd there, had I not got the Boy away as well as my self: Which at last I did effect at Noon day. For lying at *Anteparis* with a Prize, I got ashoar, and lighting on a small Greek Boat, I made him carry me to *Melo*, where I could be safe; but there not being able to subsist without Money, I set on a new Project, and having got another small Boat for our selves, I was resolv'd to sail for *Smyrna*: But herein I was frustrated again, for under *Cherfo*, meeting with five half Galleys belonging to *Stancu*, it appeared worse and worse for us: For now we thought we should be sold to *Matsa Mama* at *Rhodes*; yet it fell out better than we expected, the Turks proving to be very kind, and never fettered us: So we went for *Samos*, from whence having been now five Days in their Custody, I, with the Boy on my Back, committed my self to the Mercy of the Sea in the Night and got ashore. But there being many of

the Turks, I was afraid to stir, and so lay in the Crevices of a Rock 6 Days and Nights together, not daring to move, for fear of being retaken; and all the Sustenance we had there, was three Dew Snails, and some Roots of wild Weeds. But at length we saw the half Gallies go away, though by this time the Youngster was almost dead, and my self little better: However, I could stand and go a little, but the Boy was not able to budge. We were remote from any Village, yet I would fain have carried the Lad to that which was next, but we fell sometimes both together; then I dragg'd him a little way, but was so faint that I was quickly forc'd to rest my self. Yet at length meeting with a poor Greek, with one Ass laden with Wood, and another unladen; after having some Discourse with him, (telling him who we were, and how we came thither) he took pitty on us, and put the Boy upon one Ass, and Me on the other, leaving his Wood behind him, and brought us to the Monastery at *Samos*. There for 12 Days the Friars took great care of us, and saw us safely sent for *Smyrna*, by a French ship: Where, God be thanked, I thought my self in Paradise to be at Liberty; which I pray God to preserve to every Man, and more particularly a Deliverance out of a Crusal.

Being safely arrived at *Smyrna*, I could get never a Voyage, save with the *French*, with whom I refused to embarque, but waited with Patience, till at last I obtained the Favour of a Passage with a *Venetian* Merchant-Man, that lay here with *Arragon* Colours, which they are free to Trade with, and was bound for *Leghorn*, wherein we sailed from *Smyrna*, *Decemb.*

26. 1693. and arriv'd at *Leghorn*, March the 19th Ditto, being almost three Months on our Passage, and were put back to one hole or another 19 times; and that added much to my Experience on the Coast of *Morea*; which is call'd by the Inhabitants *the Kingdom of Morea*. This within this 13 Years was wholly Inhabited, Governed, and Possessed by the Turks; but all is now Conquered by the Venetians, Governed by them, and Inhabited with Greeks and Albanezes: The chiefest of whose Towns and Fortifications are as follows, *vis*, Castle *Nova*, St. *Maura*, Castle *Turneze*, *Corinth*, *Old* and *New Navarine*, *Modon*, *Coron*, *Napoli di Malvasia*, *Napoli di Romania*, where all the Venetian Armada is kept, and where the Camp Rendezvouses, when drawn up.

The City of *Argos* is at the Head of *Napoli di Romania* Bay, standing on a High Hill, but now it is all level with the Ground, only one old Church is standing still, for a Memorial of what the Place has been.

Being now got to *Leghorn* with the aforesaid Venetian, I there disbarqued, and having wrought 13 Months more for Experience, I shipp'd my self on Board Captain *George Littlefare*, Commander of the good Ship the *Golden Fortune*, bound for *Smirna*, wherein we sailed from *Leghorn*, June 20. 1694. in Company with Capt. *Henry Mart* of *Bristol*, who was bound for *Galipoli*, in the good Ship the *Leopard*, and at *Messina* parted; where we made a stay for two or three Days and Nights, and then sailed away, having a quick Passage as high as *Napoli di Romania*, and the Wind overblowing N.N.E. We put into that Port, where we found the Venetian Armado, was

a fitting out for some Expedition, and bound to the Eastward. We tarried here till they sailed and put out with them, which consisted of 22 Men of War, 23 Venetian Gallies, 7 Malteze Gallies, 5 Popes Gallies, 6 Venetian Galliasses, and 12 half Gallies and Brigantines, 2 Bomb Ketches, and 5 Merchant Ships with Provisions, Soldiers, Horses, and other Lumber, as Field-Pieces, &c.

When we got among the Isles, the Wind took us short, and we all put in for *Fermia* or *Fermina*, and having a Slatch, we weighed from hence again, and went for *Andrea*, all Hands aloft. There we anchored and staid ten days. From thence we sailed for *Tino*, and having lain at that Place ten Days, there came a Greek Boat on board of us; which was ordered by Consul *Raye* of *Smyrna* from *Scio* to come in search for us, having Letters to inform us, how all things went, and that there was a *Fr.* Man of 36 Guns cruised for us, between Cape *Calaberno* and *Scio*, and that therefore we should continue with the *Armado*, till farther Orders, which we did. This Greek Messenger ask'd our Captain, where the Venetian Fleet was going, but we answered him, we could not tell, though we thought for *Negropont*. From us he went on board the Captain General, and informed him, That the Turks were all gone from *Scio* to *Negropont* to fortifie it, as suspecting the Venetians coming thither. Whereupon this being Sunday, *August 27. 1694.* on Monday Morning we weighed the whole Fleet, having little Wind, and kept all our Sails furled, so that the General commanded a Galley to tow each Ship, and we bore away for *Scio*.

Now the reason of our Towing was to keep our selves furl'd that we might not be discovered from *Scio*, the same being from *Tino* but Twenty Leagues. Insomuch that by Tuesday the 29th of *August* afore-said, in the Morning we lay fair under the Town, all Hands, not discovered over Night, by the blind Mahometans.

Now, as to the manner of taking this Place, it was thus.

The Ships lay distant from the Town three Miles; the Gallies within them, between them and the Town; and the Galleasses right before the Town, the half Gallies being here and there upon the Scout round the Island, to keep the Turks from making their Escape, As for us, we with our English Merchant Man, lay abreast the Town, and saw fair Play.

On Wednesday (*August 30.*) in went the *Malteze* and *Pope's* Gallies, and cleared the Suburbs to Land their Men, which they did effectually with their Cushee Pieces in an Hours time. And by two of the Clock in the Afternoon they had Fourteen Thousand Men ashore, Horse and Foot, and by Five of the Clock, were marched round the Town and fought.

Thursday (*August 31.*) they got several Field Pieces ashore, and fought all Day smartly.

Friday (*September 1.*) they landed six Mortar-Pieces, placed them to good Advantage, about Noon began to Play, and Bombarded all Night, and on Saturday all Day. They made several Breaches in the Wall, yet the Turks held it out stoutly: But before Night they beat a small Out Fort to the Ground, and 300 Turks being yet alive in it, came and sur-

rendered themselves to the Venetian. The same Night about 11 a Clock, an unfortunate Bomb fell into a large Magazine that was full thwacked with Flax, Cotton, &c. all which took fire, and burnt all the East Part of the Town, the Turks remaining in the Cittadel, which was in the middle of the Place; and the Christians to the Westward: The Turks had now the Fire on one side, & the Enemy on 'tother, and 'emselves in the midst; which made their Case such, that if they run to the one, they must become Slaves, and if they continued there they would be burned: So that this Horror caused them to slacken their Hands, and to fire but now and then. The Christians seeing that, fired faster than before: However, they continued in this Posture from Saturday at 11 at Night, being the 2d, to Wednesday the 6th; when they surrendered about 3 Afternoon. Then the Venetians entred the Cittadel, and the Turks came out. The *Malteze* hoisted his Standard at the East-end, and the Popes General hoisted his Standard on the West-end of the Town: But they had much adoe to quench the Fire; and before 'twas quite put out, above one third Part of the Town was destroyed. What Men the Turks lost is not known, but the Venetians loss was very small: Twelve of them that was out upon a Party, the first Night were unawares beset by about 100 Turks, and became a Prey to them. The Venetians took in the Mould three Gallies, and in them and the Town redeemed 2000 Christian Slaves: But during the whole design, the Venetian Ships never fired a Gun, nor were within Shot of the Place, no more did the Galleasses neither; but soon after they

put to Sea, and chased the whole Turkish Fleet into *Smyrna*; and had it not been for the Factory, could have destroyed them every Ship: But some 3 or 4 Months after, the Fleets fought and the Venetians had two Flags sunk, besides a private Ship of 60 Guns: But how successful soever the Conquest of this Island proved now to the Venetians, they lost it again in *February* following, and left 700 Slaves ashore, and a Ship in the Mould of 700 Tuns, laden with Ammunition, Field-Pieces, Bombs, &c. But I being then at *Smirna*, saw it not, and therefore can give no exact Account how it was acted.

From hence forward I used the *Levant* Voyages, from *Livorno*, with the English and Dutch, until *April* 7. 1696. I was pressed on Board His Majesty's Ship the *Glocester*, and in her I came for *England*, under the Command of Captain *Tho. Poulton*, and arriv'd in the *Downs*, *March* 6. 1696-7, being the first time I saw the English Shoar in 5 Years, 5 Months and 19 Days time.

THE BUCCANEERS

[From "The Monarchs of the Main," by
G. W. THORNBURY]

THE Flibustiers first began by associating together in bands of from fifteen to twenty men. Each of them carried the Buccaneer musket, holding a ball of sixteen to the pound, and had generally pistols at his belt, holding bullets of twenty or twenty-four to the pound, and besides this they wore a good sabre or cutlass. When collected at some preconcerted rendezvous, generally a key or small island off Cuba, they elected a captain, and embarked in a canoe, hollowed out of the trunk of a single tree in the Indian manner. This canoe was either bought by the association or the captain. If the latter, they agreed to give him the first ship they should take. As soon as they had all signed the charter-party, or mutual agreement, they started for the destined port off which they were to cruise. The first Spanish vessel they took served to repay the captain and recompense themselves. They dressed themselves in the rich robes of Castilian grandees over their own blooded shirts, and sat down to revel in the gilded saloon of the galleon. If they found their prize not seaworthy, they would take her to some small sand island and careen, while the crew helped the Indians to turn turtle, and to procure bull's

flesh. The Spanish crew they kept to assist in ca-reening, for they never worked themselves, but fought and hunted while the unfortunate prisoners were toiling round the fire where the pitch boiled, or the turtle was stewing. The Flibustiers divided the spoil as soon as each one had taken an oath that nothing had been secreted. When the ship was ready for sea, they let the Spaniards go, and kept only the slaves. If there were no negroes or Indians, they retained a few Spaniards to wait upon them. If the prisoners were men of consequence, they detained them till they could obtain a ransom. Every Flibustier brought a certain supply of powder and ball for the common stock. Before starting on an expedition it was a common thing to plunder a Spanish hog-yard, where a thousand swine were often collected, surrounding the keeper's lodge at night, and shooting him if he made any resistance. The tortoise fishermen were often forced to fish for them gratuitously, although nearly every ship had its Mosquito Indian to strike turtle and sea-cow, and to fish for the whole boat's crew. "No prey, no pay," was the Buccaneers' motto. The charter-party specified the salary of the captain, surgeon, and carpenter, and allowed 200 pieces of eight for victualling. The boys had but half a share, although it was either their duty or the surgeon's, when the rest had boarded, to remain behind to fire the former vessel, and then retire to the prize.

The Buccaneer code, worthy of Napoleon or Justinian, was equal to the statutes of any land, insomuch as it answered the want of those for whom it was compiled, and seldom required either revision or en-

largement. It was never appealed from, and was seldom found to be unjust or severe.

The captain was allowed five or six shares, the master's mate only two, and the other officers in proportion, down to the lowest mariner. All acts of special bravery or merit were rewarded by special grants. The man who first caught sight of a prize received a hundred crowns. The sailor who struck down the enemy's captain, and the first boarder who reached the enemy's deck, were also distinguished by honours. The surgeon, always a great man among a crew whose lives so often depended on his skill, received 200 crowns to supply his medicine chest. If they took a prize, he had a share like the rest. If they had no money to give him, he was rewarded with two slaves.

The loss of an eye was recompensed at 100 crowns, or one slave.

The loss of both eyes with 600 crowns, or six slaves.

The loss of a right hand or right leg at 200 crowns, or two slaves.

The loss of both hands or legs at 600 crowns, or six slaves.

The loss of a finger or toe at 100 crowns, or one slave.

The loss of a foot or leg at 200 crowns, or two slaves.

The loss of both legs at 600 crowns, or six slaves.

Nothing but death seems to have been considered as worth recompensing with more than 600 crowns. For any wound, which compelled a sailor to carry a *canulus*, 200 crowns were given, or two slaves. If a

man had not even lost a member, but was for the present deprived of the use of it, he was still entitled to his compensation as much as if he had lost it altogether. The maimed were allowed to take either money or slaves.

The charter-party drawn up by Sir Henry Morgan before his famous expedition, which ended in the plunder and destruction of Panama, shows several modifications of the earlier contract.

To him who struck the enemy's flag, and planted the Buccaneers', fifty piastres besides his share.

To him who took a prisoner who brought tidings, 100 piastres, besides his share.

For every grenade thrown into an enemy's port-hole, five piastres.

To him who took an officer of rank at the risk of his life, proportionate reward.

To him who lost two legs, 500 crowns, or fifteen slaves.

To him who lost two arms, 800 piastres, or eighteen slaves.

To him who lost one leg or one arm, 500 piastres, or six slaves.

To him who lost an eye, 100 piastres, or one slave.

For both eyes, 200 piastres, or two slaves.

For the loss of a finger, 100 piastres, or one slave. A Flibustier who had a limb crippled, received the same pay as if it was lost. A wound requiring an issue, was recompensed with 500 piastres, or five slaves. These shares were all allotted before the general division. If a vessel was taken at sea, its cargo was divided among the whole fleet, but the crew

first boarding it received 100 crowns, if its value exceeded 10,000 crowns, and for every 10,000 crowns' worth of cargo, 100 went to the men that boarded. The surgeon received 200 piastres, besides his share.

The Mosquito Indians were the helots of the Buccaneers; they employed them to catch fish, and their vessels had generally a small canoe, kept for their use, in which they might strike tortoise or manatee. These Indians used no oars, but a pair of broad-bladed paddles, which they held perpendicularly, grasping the staff with both hands and putting back the water by sheer strength, and with very quick, short strokes. Two men generally went in the same boat, the one sitting in the stern, the other kneeling down in the head. They both paddled softly till they approached the spot where their prey lay; they then remained still, looking very warily about them, and the one at the head then rose up, with his striking-staff in his hand. This weapon was about eight feet long, almost as thick as a man's arm at the larger end, at which there was a hole into which the harpoon was put; at the other extremity was placed a piece of light (bob) wood, with a hole in it, through which the small end of the staff came. On this bob wood a line of ten or twelve fathoms was neatly wound—the end of the one line being fastened to the wood, and the other to the harpoon, the man keeping about a fathom of it loose in his hand. When he struck, the harpoon came off the shaft, and, as the wounded fish swam away, the line ran off from the reel. Although the bob and line were frequently dragged deep under water, and often caught round coral branches or sunk wreck, it gen-

erally rose to the surface of the water. The Indians struggled to recover the bob, which they were accustomed to do in about a quarter of an hour.

When the sea-cow grew tired and began to lie still, they drew in the line, and the monster, feeling the harpoon a second time, would often make a maddened rush at the canoe. It then became necessary that the steersman should be nimble in turning the head of the canoe the way his companion pointed, as he alone was able to see and feel the way the manatee was swimming. Directly the fish grew tired, they hauled in the line, which the vexed creature drew out again a dozen times with ferocious but impotent speed. When its strength grew quite exhausted, they would drag it up the side of their boat and knock it on the head, or, pulling it to the shore, made it fast while they went out to strike another. From the great size of a sea-cow it was always necessary to go to shore in order to get it safely into their boats; hauling it up in shoal water, they upset their canoes, and then rolling the fish in righted again with the weight. The Indians sometimes paddled one home, and towed the other after them. Dampierre says he knew two Indians, who every day for a week brought two manatee on board his ship, the least not weighing less than six hundred pounds, and yet in so small a canoe that three Englishmen could row it.

If the fisherman struck a sea-cow that had a calf they generally captured both—the mother carrying the young under her side fins, and always regarding their safety before her own; the young, moreover, would seldom desert their mother, and would follow

the canoe in spite of noise and blows. The least sound startled the manitee, but the turtles required less care. These fish had certain islands near Cuba which they chose to lay their eggs in. At certain seasons they came from the gulf of Honduras in such vast multitudes, that ships, which had lost their latitude, very often steered at night, following the sound of these clattering shoals. When they had been about a month in the Caribbean sea they grew fat, and the fishing commenced. Salt turtle was the Buccaneers' healthiest food, and was supposed to free them from all the ailments of debauchery. The Indians struck the turtle with a short, sharp, triangular-headed iron, not more than an inch long, which fitted into a spear handle. The lance head was loose and had the usual line attached. Their lines they made of the fibrous bark of a tree, which they also used for their rigging.

The manitee, or sea-cow, was a favourite article of food with these wandering seamen. It was a monster as big as a horse, and as unwieldy as a walrus, with eyes not much larger than peas, and a head like a cow. Its flesh was white, sweet, and wholesome. The tail of a young fish was a dainty, and a young sucking-calf, roasted, was an epicure's morsel. The head and tail of older animals were tough, yet the belly was frequently eaten.

Dampierre speaks of his companions feasting on pork and peas, and beef and doughboys, and this nautical coarseness was generally found associated with occasional tropical luxuriousness. In cases of necessity, wrecked sailors fed on sharks, which they first boiled and then squeezed dry, and stewed with

pepper and vinegar. The oil of turtle they used instead of butter for their dumplings. The best turtle were said to be those that fed on land; those that lived on sea-weed, and not on grass, being yellow and rank. The larger fish needed two men to turn them on their backs. The Flibustiers also ate the iguanas, or large South American lizards. Vast flocks of doves were found in many of the islands, sometimes in such abundance that a sailor could knock down five or six dozen of an afternoon.

The Buccaneers' history is a singular example of how evil generates evil. The Spaniards destroyed the wild cattle, and the hunters turned freebooters. Spain discontinued trading to prevent piracy, and the adventurers, starved for want of gold, made descents upon the mainland. The evil grew by degrees till the worm they had at first trod upon arose in their path an indestructible and devastating monster of a hundred heads. First single ships, then fleets, were swept off by these locusts of the deep; first, islands were burnt, then villages sacked, and at last cities conquered. First the North and then the South Pacific were visited, till the whole coast from Panama to Cape Horn trembled at the very flutter of their flag. The first Flibustier, Lewis Scott, scared Campeachy with a few canoes. Grognet grappled the Lima fleet with a whole squadron of pirate craft. The Buccaneer spirit arose from revenge, and ended in robbery and murder. At first fierce but merciful, they grew rapacious, loathsome, and bloody. Their early chivalry forsook them—they sank into the enemies of God and all mankind, and the last refuse of them expired

on the gallows of Jamaica, children of Cain, unpitied by any, their very courage despised, and their crimes detested. At their culminating point, united under the sway of one great mind, they might have formed a large empire in South America, or conquered it as tributaries to France or England. Always thirsty for gold, they were often chivalrous, generous, intrepid, merciful, and disinterested.

A greater evil soon cured the lesser. The Spaniards, dreading robbery worse than death, ceased in a great measure to trade. The poorer merchants were ruined by the loss of a single cocoa vessel; the richer waited for the convoy of the plate fleets, or followed in the wake of the galleon, hoping to escape if she was captured, as the chickens do when the hen goes cackling up in the claws of the kite. For every four vessels that once sailed not more than one could be now seen. What with the war of France on Holland, and England on France, and all on Spain, there was little safety for the poor trader. Yet those who could risk a loss still made great profits. This cessation of trade was a poor remedy against the sea robber: it was to rob oneself instead of being robbed, to commit suicide for fear of murder. It was a remedy that saved life, but rendered life hateful. The Buccaneers, starving for want of prey, remained moodily in the rocky fastnesses of Tortuga, like famished eagles looking down on a country they have devastated. To accomplish greater feats they united in bodies, and made forays on the coast. They had before remained at the threshold—they now rushed headlong into the sanctuary, and they got *their* bread,

or rather other people's bread, by daring dashes and surprises of towns, leaving them only when wrapped in flames or swept by the pestilence that always followed in their train.

We may claim for our own nation the first pioneer in this new field of enterprise. Lewis Scott, an Englishman, led the way by sacking the town of St. Francisco, in Campeachy, and, compelling the inhabitants to pay a ransom, returned safely to Jamaica. Where the carcase is there will the eagles be gathered together, for no sooner had his sails grown small in the distance than Mansweld, another Buccaneer, made several successful descents upon the same luckless coast, unfortunate in its very fertility. He then equipped a fleet and attempted to return by the kingdom of New Granada to the South Sea, passing the town of Carthagená. This scheme failed in consequence of a dispute arising between the French and English crews, who were always quarrelling over their respective share of provisions; but in spite of this he took the island of St. Catherine, and attempted to found a Buccaneer state.

John Davis, a Dutchman, excelled both his predecessors in daring. Cruising about Jamaica he became a scourge to all the Spanish mariners who ventured near the coasts of the Caraccas, or his favourite haunts, Carthagená and the Boca del Toro, where he lay wait for vessels bound to Nicaragua. One day he missed his shot, and having a long time traversed the sea and taken nothing—a failure which generally drove these brave men to some desperate expedient to repair their sinking fortunes—he resolved with

ninety men to visit the lagoon of Nicaragua, and sack the town of Granada. An Indian from the shores of the lagoon promised to guide him safely and secretly; and his crew, with one voice, declared themselves ready to follow him wherever he led. By night he rowed thirty leagues up the river, to the entry of the lake, and concealed his ships under the boughs of the trees that grew upon the banks; then putting eighty men in his three canoes he rowed on to the town, leaving ten sailors to guard the vessels. By day they hid under the trees; at night they pushed on towards the unsuspecting town, and reached it on the third midnight—taking it, as he had expected, without a blow and by surprise. To a sentinel's challenge they replied that they were fishermen returning home, and two of the crew, leaping on shore, ran their swords through the interrogator, to stop further questions which might have been less easily answered. Following their guide they reached a small covered way that led to the right of the town, while another Indian towed their canoes to a point to which they had agreed each man should bring his booty.

As soon as they arrived at the town they separated into small bands, and were led one by one to the houses of the richest inhabitants. Here they quietly knocked, and, being admitted as friends, seized the inmates by the throat and compelled them, on pain of death, to surrender all the money and jewels that they had. They then roused the sacristans of the principal churches, from whom they took the keys and carried off all the altar plate that could be beaten up or rendered portable. The pixes they stripped of

their gems, gouged out the jewelled eyes of virgin idols, and hammered up the sacramental cups into convenient lumps of metal.

This quiet and undisturbed pillage had lasted for two hours without a struggle, when some servants, escaping from the adventurers, began to ring the alarm bells to warn the town, while a few of the already plundered citizens, breaking into the market-place, filled the streets with uproar and affright. Davis, seeing that the inhabitants were beginning to rally from that panic which had alone secured his victory, commenced a retreat, as the enemy were now gathering in armed and threatening numbers. In a hollow square, with their booty in the centre, the Buccaneers fought their way to their boats, amid tumultuous war-cries and shouts of derision and exultation. In spite of their haste, they were prudent enough to carry with them some rich Spaniards, intending to exchange them for any of their own men they might lose in their retreat. On regaining their ships they compelled these prisoners to send them as a ransom 500 cows, with which they revictualled their ships for the passage back to Jamaica. They had scarcely well weighed anchor before they saw 600 mounted Spaniards dash down to the shore in the hopes of arresting their retreat. A few broadsides were the parting greetings of these unwelcome visitors.

This expedition was accomplished in eight days. The booty consisted of coined money and bullion amounting to about 40,000 crowns. Esquemeling computes it at 4,000 pieces of eight, and in ready

money, plate, and jewels to about 50,000 pieces of eight more.

Thus concluded this adventurous raid, in which a town forty leagues inland, and containing at least 800 well-armed defenders, was stormed and robbed by eighty resolute sailors. Davis reached Jamaica in safety with his plunder, which was soon put into wider circulation by the aid of the dice, the tavern keepers, and the courtesans. The money once expended, Davis was roused to fresh exertion. He associated himself with two or three other captains, who, superstitiously relying on his good fortune, chose him as admiral of a small flotilla of eight or nine armed gun-boats. The less fortunate rewarded him with boundless confidence. His first excursion was to the town of St. Christopher, in Cuba, to wait for the fleet from New Spain, in hopes to cut off some rich unwieldy straggler. But the fleet contrived to escape his sentinels and pass untouched. Davis then sallied forth and sacked a small town named St. Augustine of Florida, in spite of its castle and garrison of 100 men. He suffered little loss; but the inhabitants proved very poor, and the booty was small.

In making war against Spain, the hunters were mere privateersmen cruising against a national enemy; but in their endurance, patience, and energy, they stood alone. In their onset—rushing, singing, and dancing through fire and flame—they resembled rather the old Barsekars or the first levies of Mohammed. But in one point they were very remarkable; that they did more, and were yet actuated by a lower motive.

Almost devoid of religion, they fought with all the madness of fanaticism against a people themselves constitutionally fanatic, but already enervated by climate, by sudden wealth, and a long experience of contaminating luxury. The galleons of Manilla were their final aim, as they gradually passed from the devastated shores of South America to the Philippine Islands and the coasts of Guinea. They had been the instrument of Providence, and knew themselves so, to avenge the wrongs of the Indian upon the Spaniard; they were soon to become the first avengers of the Negro. Long years of plunder had made the Spaniard and the creole as secretive as the Hindu. At the first intelligence of some terrified fisherman, the frightened townsman threw his pistoles into wells, mortared them up in the wall of his fortresses. Laden mules were driven into the interior; the women fled to the nearest plantation; the old men barred themselves up in the church. Their first thought was always flight; their second, to turn and strike a blow for all they loved, valued, and revered.

The debauchery of the Buccaneers was as unequalled as their courage. Œxmelin relates a story of an Englishman who gave 500 crowns to his mistress at a single revel. This man, who had earned 1,500 crowns by exposing himself to desperate dangers, was, within three months, sold for a term of three years to a planter, to discharge a tavern debt which he could not pay. A conqueror of Panama might be seen to-morrow driven by the overseer's whip among a gang of slaves, cutting sugar canes, or picking tobacco.

Another Buccaneer, a Frenchman, surnamed Vent-en-Panne, was so addicted to play that he lost everything but his shirt. Every pistole that he could earn he spent in this absorbing vice—so tempting to men, who longed for excitement, were indifferent to money, and daily risked their lives for the prospect of gain. On one occasion he lost 500 crowns, his whole share of some recent prize-money, besides 300 crowns which he had borrowed of a comrade who would now lend him no more. Determined to try his fortune again, he hired himself as servant at the very gambling-house where he had been ruined, and, by lighting pipes for the players and bringing them in wine, earned fifty crowns in two days. He staked this, and soon won 12,000 crowns. He then paid his debts and resolved to lose no more, shipping himself on board an English vessel that touched at Barbadoes. At Barbadoes he met a rich Jew who offered to play him. Unable to abstain, he sat down, and won 1,300 crowns and 100,000 lbs. of sugar already shipped for England, and, in addition to this, a large mill and sixty slaves. The Jew, begging him to stay and give him his revenge, ran and borrowed some money, and returned and took up the cards. The Buccaneer consented, more from love of play than generosity; and the Jew, putting down 1,500 jacobuses, won back 100 crowns, and finally all his antagonist's previous winnings—stripping him even to the very clothes he wore. The delighted winner allowed him for very shame to retain his clothes, and gave him money enough to return, disconsolate and beggared, to Tortuga. Becoming again a Buccaneer, he gained 6,000 or 7,000 crowns.

M. D'Ogeron, the governor, treating him as a wayward child, taking away his money, sent him back to France with bills of exchange for the amount. Venten-Panne, now cured of his vice, took to merchandise; but, always unfortunate, was killed in his first voyage to the West Indies, his vessel being attacked by two Ostende frigates, of twenty-four or thirty guns each, which were eventually, however, driven off by the dead man's crew of only thirty Buccaneers.

When the pleasures of Tortuga or Jamaica had swallowed up all the hard-earned winnings of these men, they returned to sea, expending their last pistoles in powder and ball, and leaving heavy scores still unsettled with the cabaretiers. They then hastened to the quays, or small sandy islands off Cuba, to careen their vessels and to salt turtle. Sometimes they repaired to Honduras, where they had Indian wives; latterly, to the Galapagos isles, to the Boca del Toro, or the coast of Castilla del Oro.

Some Buccaneers, Esquemeling says, would spend 3,000 piastres in a night, not leaving themselves even a shirt in the morning. "My own master," he adds, "would buy a whole pipe of wine, and, placing it in the street, would force every one that passed by to drink with him, threatening also to pistol them in case they would not do it. At other times he would do the same with barrels of ale or beer; and very often with both his hands he would throw these liquors about the street, and wet the clothes of such as walked by, without regard whether he spoiled their apparel or not, or whether they were men or women." Port Royal was a favourite scene for such carousals.

Even as late as 1694, Montauban gives us some idea of the wild debaucheries committed by the Buccaneers even at Bourdeaux. "My freebooters," he says, "who had not seen France for a long time, finding themselves now in a great city where pleasure and plenty reigned, were not backward to refresh themselves after the fatigues they had endured while so long absent from their native country. They spent a world of money here, and proved horribly extravagant. The merchants and their hosts made no scruple to advance them money, or lend them as much as they pleased, upon the reputation of their wealth and the noise there was throughout the city of the valuable prizes whereof they had a share. All the nights they spent in such divertisements as pleased them best; and the days, in running up and down the town in masquerade, causing themselves to be carried in chairs with lighted flambeaux at noon—of which debauches some died, while four of my crew fairly deserted me."

This, it must be remembered, was at a time when buccaneering had sunk into privateering—the half-way house to mere piracy. The distinguishing mark of the true Buccaneer was, that he attacked none but Spaniards.

Of the Buccaneers' estimation of religion, Charlevoix gives us some curious accounts. He says, "there remained no traces of it in their heart, but still, sometimes, from time to time, they appeared to meditate deeply. They never commenced a combat without first embracing each other, in sign of reconciliation. They would at such times strike themselves rudely on the breast, as if they wished to rouse some compunc-

tion in their hearts, and were not able. Once escaped from danger, they returned headlong to their debauchery, blasphemy, and brigandage. The Buccaneers, looking upon themselves as worthy fellows, regarded the Flibustiers as wretches, but in reality there was not much difference. The Buccaneers were, perhaps, the less vicious, but the Flibustiers preserved a little more of the externals of religion; *with the exception of a certain honour among them, and their abstinence from human flesh, few savages were more wicked, and a great number of them much less so.*"

This passage shows a very curious jealousy between the hunters and the corsairs, and a singular distinction as to religious feeling. Père Labat, however, speaks of the Flibustiers as attending confession immediately after a sea-fight with most exemplary devotion. A more important distinction than that made by Charlevoix was that between the Protestant and Roman Catholic adventurers, the latter being as superstitious as the former were irreverent. Ravenau de Lussan always speaks with horror of the blasphemy and irreligion of his English comrades, one of whom was an old trooper of Cromwell's; and Grognet's fleet eventually separated from the English ships, on account of the latter crews lopping crucifixes with their sabres, and firing at images with their pistols. A Flibustier captain, named Daniel, shot one of his men in a Spanish church for behaving irreverently at mass; and Ringrose gives an instance of an English commander who threw the dice overboard, if he found his men gambling on a Sunday.

We find Ravenau de Lussan's troop singing a *Te*

Deum after victories, and Cœxmelin tells us that prayers were said daily on board Flibustier ships.

It is difficult to say from what class of life either the Buccaneers or the Flibustiers sprang. The planters often became hunters, and the hunters sailors, and the reverse. Morgan was a Welsh farmer's son, who ran away to sea; Montauban, the son of a Gascon gentleman; D'Ogeron had been a captain in the French marines; Von Horn, a common sailor in an Ostende smack; Dampierre was a Somersetshire yeoman, and Esquemeling a Dutch planter's apprentice. Charlevoix says, "few could bear for many years a life so hard and laborious, and the greater part only continued in it till they could gain enough to become planters. Many, continually wasting their money, never earned sufficient to buy a plantation; others grew so accustomed to the life, and so fond even of its hardships and painful risks, that, though often heirs to good fortunes, they would not leave it to return to France.

The life of M. D'Ogeron, the governor of Tortuga, is an example of another class of Buccaneers, and of the causes which led to the choice of such a profession. At fifteen, he was captain of a regiment of marines, and in 1656, joining a company intending to colonize the Matingo river, he embarked in a ship, fitted out at the expense of 17,000 livres. Disappointed in this bubble, he tried to settle at Martinique, but deceived by the governor, who withdrew a grant of land, he determined to settle with the Buccaneers of St. Domingo. Embarking in a rickety vessel, he ran ashore on Hispaniola, and lost all his merchandise and pro-

visions. Giving his *engagés* their liberty, he joined the hunters, and became distinguished as well for courage as virtue. His goods sent from France were sold at a loss, and he returned to his native country a poor man. Collecting his remaining money, he hired *engagés*, and loaded a vessel with wine and brandy. Finding the market glutted, he sold his cargo at a loss, and was cheated by his Jamaica agent. Returning again to France, he fitted out a third vessel, and finally settled as a planter in Hispaniola. At this juncture the French West India Company fixed their eyes upon him, and in 1665 made him governor of their colony.

Ravenau de Lussan illustrates the motives that sometimes led the youth of the higher classes to turn Buccaneers. He commences his book with true French vanity, by saying, that few children of Paris, which contains so many of the wonders of the world (ten out of the eight, we suppose), seek their fortune abroad. From a child he was seized with a passionate disposition for travel, and would steal out of his father's house and play truant when he was yet scarce seven. He soon reached La Vilette and the suburbs, and by degrees learnt to lose sight of Paris. With this passion arose a desire for a military life. The noise of a drum in the street transported him with joy. He made a friend of an officer, and, offering him his sword, joined his company, and witnessed the siege of Condé, ending his campaign, still unwearied of his new form of life. He then became a cadet in a marine regiment. The captain drained him of all his money, and his father, at a great expense,

bought him his discharge. Under the Count D'Avegeau he entered the French Guards, and fought at the siege of St. Guislain. Growing, on his return, weary of Paris, he embarked again on the sea, having nothing but voyages in his head; the longest and most dangerous appearing to his imagination, he says, the most delightful. Travelling by land seemed to him long and difficult, and he once more chose the sea, deeming it only fit for a woman to remain at home ignorant of the world. His affectionate parents tried in vain to reason him out of this gadding humour, and finding him only grow firmer and more inflexible, they desisted.

Not caring whither he went, so he could get to sea, he embarked in 1697 from Dieppe for St. Domingo. Here he remained for five months *engagé* to a French planter, "more a Turk than a Frenchman." "But what misery," he says, "soever I have undergone with him, being resolved to forget his name, which I shall not mention in this place, because the laws of Christianity require that at my hand, though as to matters of charity he is not to expect much of that in me, since he, on his part, has been every way defective in the exercise thereof upon my account." But his patience at last worn out, and weary of cruelties that seemed endless, De Lussan applied to M. de Franquesnay, the king's lieutenant, who himself gave him shelter in his house for six months. He was now in debt, and thinking it "honest to pay his creditors," he joined the freebooters in order to satisfy them, not willing to apply again for money to his parents. "These borrowings from the Spaniards," he says,

"have this advantage attending them, that there is no obligation to repay them," and there was war between the two crowns, so that he was a legal privateersman. Selecting a leader, De Lussan pitched on De Graff, as a brave corsair, who happened to be then at St. Domingo, eager to sail. Furnishing himself with arms, at the expense of Franquesnay, he joined De Graff. "We were," he says, "in a few hours satisfied with each other, and became such friends as those are wont to be who are about to run the same risk of fortune, and apparently to die together." The 22nd of November, the day he sailed from Petit Guave, seemed the happiest of his life.

Dampierre mentions an old Buccaneer, who was slain at the taking of Leon. "He was," he says, "a stout, grey-headed old man, aged about eighty-four, who had served under Oliver Cromwell in the Irish rebellion; after which he was at Jamaica, and had followed privateering ever since. He would not accept the offer our men made him to tarry ashore, but said he would venture as far as the best of them; but when surrounded by the Spaniards he refused "to take quarter, but discharged his gun amongst them, keeping a pistol still charged; so they shot him dead at a distance. His name was Swan (*rara avis*). He was a very merry, hearty old man, and always used to declare he would never take quarter."

When the adventurers were at sea, they lived together as a friendly brotherhood. Every morning at ten o'clock the ship's cook put the kettle on the fire to boil the salt beef for the crew, in fresh water if they had plenty, but if they ran short in brine; meal was

boiled at the same time, and made into a thick porridge, which was mixed with the gravy and the fat of the meat. The whole was then served to the crew on large platters, seven men to a plate. If the captain or cook helped themselves to a larger share than their messmates, any of the republican crew had a right to change plates with them. But, notwithstanding this brotherly equality, and in spite of the captain being deposable by his crew, there was maintained at all moments of necessity the strictest discipline, and the most rigid subordination of rank. The crews had two meals a day. They always said grace before meat: the French Catholics singing the canticles of Zecharias, the Magnificat, or the Miserere; the English reading a chapter from the New Testament, or singing a psalm.

Directly a vessel hove in sight, the Flibustiers gave chase. If it showed a Spanish flag, the guns were run out, and the decks cleared; the pikes lashed ready, and every man prepared his musket and powder, of which he alone was the guardian (and not the gunner), these articles being generally paid for from the common stock, unless provided by the captain.

They first fell on their knees at their quarters (each group round its gun), to pray God that they might obtain both victory and plunder. Then all lay down flat on the deck, except the few left to steer and navigate—proceeding to board as soon as their musketeers had silenced the enemy's fire. If victorious, they put their prisoners on shore, attended to the wounded, and took stock of the booty. A third part of the crew went on board the prize, and a prize captain

was chosen by lot. No excuse was allowed; and if illness prevented the man elected taking the office, his *matelot*, or companion, took his place.

On arriving at Tortuga, they paid a commission to the governor, and before dividing the spoil, rewarded the captain, the surgeons, and the wounded. The whole crew then threw into a common heap all they possessed above the value of five sous, and took an oath on the New Testament, holding up their right hands, that they had kept nothing back. Any one detected in perjury was marooned, and his share either given to the rest, to the heirs of the dead, or as a bequest to some chapel. The jewels and merchandise were sold, and they divided the produce.

"It was impossible," says CExmelin, "to put any obstacle in the way of men who, animated simply by the hope of gain, were capable of such great enterprises, having *nothing but life* to lose and all to win. It is true that they would not have persisted long in their expeditions if they had had neither boats nor provisions. For ships they never wanted, because they were in the habit of going out in small canoes and capturing the largest and best provisioned vessels. For harbours they could never want, because everybody fled before them, and they had but to appear to be victorious." This intelligent and animated writer concludes his book by expressing an opinion that a firm and organized resistance by Spain at the outset might have stopped the subsequent mischief; but this opinion he afterwards qualifies in the following words, which, coming from such a writer so well acquainted with those of whom he writes, speaks volumes in

favour of Buccaneer prowess: "Je dis *peut-être*, car les aventuriers sont de terribles gens."

Charlevoix describes the first Flibustiers as going out in canoes with twenty-five or thirty men, without pilot or provisions, to capture pearl-fishers and surprise small cruisers. If they succeeded, they went to Tortuga, bought a vessel, and started 150 strong, going to Cuba to take in salt turtle, or to Port Margot or Bayaha for dried pork or beef—dividing all upon the *compagnon à bon lot* principle. They always said public prayer before starting on an expedition, and returned solemn thanks to God for victory.

"They were," says a Jesuit writer, "at first so crowded in their boats that they had scarcely room to lie down; and, as they practised no economy in eating, they were always short of food. They were also night and day exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and yet loved so much the independence in which they lived, that no one murmured. Some sang when others wished to sleep, and all were by turns compelled to bear these inconveniences without complaint. But one may imagine men so little at their ease spared no pains to gain more comforts; that the sight of a larger and more convenient vessel gave them courage sufficient to capture it; and that hunger deprived them of all sense of the danger of procuring food. They attacked all they met without a thought, and boarded as soon as possible. A single volley would have sunk their vessels; but they were skilful in manœuvre, their sailors were very active, and they presented to the enemy nothing but a prow full of fusiliers, who, firing through the portholes, struck the

gunners with terror. Once on board, nothing could prevent them becoming masters of a ship, however numerous the crew. The Spaniards' blood grew cold when those whom they called, and looked upon as, demons came in sight, and they frequently surrendered at once in order to obtain quarter. If the prize was rich their lives were spared; but if the cargo proved poor, the Buccaneers often threw the crew into the sea in revenge."

Their favourite coasts were the Caraccas, Carthagera, Nicaragua, and Campeachy, where the ports were numerous and well frequented. Their best harbours at the Caraccas were Cumana, Canagote, Coro, and Maracaibo; at Carthagera, La Rancheria, St. Martha, and Portobello. Round Cuba they watched for vessels going from New Spain to Maracaibo. If going, they found them laden with silver; if returning, full of cocoa. The prizes to the Caraccas were laden with the lace and manufactures of Spain; those from Havannah, with leather, Campeachy wood, cocoa, tobacco, and Spanish coin.

The dress of the Buccaneer sailors must have varied with the changes of the age. Retaining their red shirts and leather sandals as the working dress of their brotherhood, we find them donning all the splendour rummaged from Spanish cabins, now wearing the plumed hat and laced sword-belt of Charles the Second's reign, and now the tufts of ribbons of the perfumed court of Louis Quatorze. Sprung from all nations and all ranks, some of them prided themselves upon the rough beard, bare feet, and belted shirt of the rudest seaman, while others, like Grammont and

De Graff, flaunted in the richest costumes of their period. They must have passed from the long cloak and loose cassock of the Stuart reign to the jack-boots and Dutch dress of William of Orange; from the laced and flowing Steenkirk to the fringed cock-hat and deep-flapped waistcoat of Queen Anne. In the English translation of Esquemeling, Barthelemy Portugues, one of the earliest sea-rovers, is represented as having his long, lank hair parted in the centre and falling on his shoulders, and his moustachios long and rough. He wears a plain embroidered coat with a neck-band, and carries in his arms a short, broad sabre, unsheathed, as was the habit with many Buccaneer chiefs. Roche Braziliano appears in a plain hunter's shirt, the strings tying it at the neck being fastened in a bow. Lolonis has the same shirt, showing at his neck and puffing through the openings of his sleeve, and he carries a naked broadsword with a shell guard. In the portrait of Sir Henry Morgan we see much more affectation of aristocratic dress. He has a rich coat of Charles the Second's period, a laced cravat tied in a fringed bow with long ends, and his broad sword-belt is stiff with gold lace. The hunter's shirt, however, still shows through the slashed sleeves.

JOHN PAUL JONES—PIRATE AND PRIVATEER

[From "Daring Deeds of Famous Pirates," by E.
KIBBLE CHATTERTON.]

[W]E come now to consider the exploits of another historical character whose life and adventures will ever be of unfailing interest on both sides of the Atlantic. And yet, perhaps, this amazing Scotsman is to-day better known in America than in Great Britain. Like many another before him he rose from the rank of ordinary seaman to become a man that was to be had in great fear if not respect. His fame has been celebrated in fiction, and very probably many a story of which he has been made the hero had no foundation in fact.]

[There is some dispute concerning his birth, but it seems pretty certain that he was the son of John Paul, head gardener on Lord Selkirk's estate near Kirkcudbright. Paul Jones first saw light in the year 1728. Brought up on the shores of the Solway Firth, it was only likely that he gave up being assistant to his father and preferred the sea to gardening. In his character there developed many of those traits which have been such marked characteristics of the pirate breed. To realize Paul Jones, you must think of a wild, reckless nature, burning with enthusiasm for adventure, yet excessively vain and desirous of recognition. He was

a rebel, a privateer, a pirate and a smuggler; he was a villain, he was quarrelsome, he was petty and mean. Finally, he was a traitor to his country. When he died he had lived a most varied life, and had seen service on merchantman, slaver and man-of-war.]

[After making several voyages to the West Indies in a merchantman as ordinary and able-bodied seaman, he was promoted to rank of mate, and then rose to the rank of master. Soon after the rupture between England and America he happened to be in New England, and then it was that he succumbed to the temptation to desert his own national standard and to throw his aid on to the side of the revolutionists—for which reason he changed his real name of John Paul to that of Paul Jones. Notwithstanding that Jones has been justly condemned by biographers for having been a traitor, yet my own opinion is that this charge arose far less from a desire to become an enemy of the British nation than from that overwhelming *wanderlust*, and that irrepressible desire for adventure to which we have already called attention. There are some men who have never had enough fighting. So soon as one campaign ends they are unhappy till another begins, so that they may find a full outlet for their spirits. To such men as these the daily round of a peaceful life is a perpetual monotony, and unless they can go forth to rove and wander, to fight or to explore, their very souls would almost cry out for freedom.]

[So, I am convinced, it was with Paul Jones. To such a man nationalities mean nothing more than certain artificial considerations. The only real differ-

ences are those between the land and the sea. He knew that in the forthcoming war he would find just the adventure which delighted him; he would have every chance of obtaining booty, and his own natural endowment, physical and mental, were splendidly suitable for such activities. He had a special knowledge of British pilotage, so he was a seaman distinctly worth having for any marauding expeditions that might be set going. So in the year 1777 we find him very busy as commander, fitting out the privateer *Ranger*. This vessel mounted 18 guns as well as several swivel-guns, and had a desperate crew of 150 able men.

He put to sea and made two captures on the European side of the Atlantic, sending each of these prizes into a French port. The following spring he went a step further in his character as a rebel, for he appeared off the Cumberland coast and began to attack a part of England that must have been singularly well-known to him.] He had made his landfall by daylight, but stood away until darkness set in. At midnight he ran closer in, and in grim silence he sent away his boats with thirty men, all well armed and ready to perform a desperate job. Their objective was Whitehaven, the entrance to the harbour being commanded by a small battery, so their first effort must obviously be to settle that. Having landed with great care, they rushed upon the small garrison and made the whole lot of prisoners. The guns of the battery were next spiked, and now they set about their next piece of daring.

In the harbour the ships were lying side by side, the

tide being out. The good people of the town were asleep in their beds, and all the conditions were ideal for burning the shipping where it stood. Very stealthily the men went about their business, and had laid their combustibles on the decks all ready for firing as soon as the signal should be given. But just then something was happening. At the doors of the main street of the little town there was a series of loud knockings, and people began to wake and bustle about; and soon the sound of voices and the sight of crowds running down to the pier. The marauders had now to hurry on the rest of their work, for the alarm had been given and there was not a moment to lose. So hastily the privateer's men threw their matches on the decks, then made for their boats and rowed off quickly to their ship.

But, luckily, the inhabitants of Whitehaven had come down just in time. For they were able to extinguish the flames before serious damage had been done. What was their joy was keen annoyance to the privateer's men. But who was the good friend who had taken the trouble to rouse the town? Who had at once been so kind as to knock at the doors and to despoil the marauders of their night's work? When the shore party of the privateer mustered on deck it was found that one man was missing, and this was the fellow who, for some conscientious or worldly motive, had gone over to the other side, and so saved both property and lives.

So Jones went a few miles farther north, crossed his familiar Solway Firth and entered the river Dee, on the left bank of which stands Kirkcudbright. He

entered the estuary at dawn and let go anchor off Lord Selkirk's castle. When the natives saw this war-like ship in their river, with her guns and her formidable appearance generally, they began to fear she was a man-of-war come to impress men for the Navy. It happened that the noble lord was away from home in London, and when the men-servants at the castle espied what they presumed to be a King's ship, they begged Lady Selkirk for leave to go and hide themselves lest they might be impressed into the service. A boat was sent from the ship, and a strong body of men landed and marched to the castle, which, to the surprise of all, they surrounded. Lady Selkirk had just finished breakfast when she was summoned to appear before the leader of the men, whose rough clothes soon showed the kind of fellows they were. Armed with pistols, swords, muskets, and even an American tomahawk, they inquired for Lord Selkirk, only to be assured his lordship was away.

The next request was that all the family plate should be handed over. So all that was in the castle was yielded, even to the silver teapot which was on the breakfast table and had not yet been washed out. The silver was packed up, and with many apologies for having had to transact this "dirty business," as one of the officers called it, the pirates went back to their ship rather richer than they had set out. But the inhabitants of the castle were as much surprised as they were thankful to find their own lives had not been demanded as well as the plate. The ship got under way some time after, and put to sea without any further incident. Now the rest of this story of the

plate runs as follows, and shows another side to the character of the head-gardener's son: for, a few days after this visit, Lady Selkirk received a letter from Jones, apologising for what had been done, and stating that this raid had been neither suggested nor sanctioned by him. On the contrary he had used his best influence to prevent its occurrence. But his officers and crew had insisted on the deed, with a view to capturing Lord Selkirk, for whose ransom they hoped to obtain a large sum of money.

As an earnest of his own innocence in the matter, Paul Jones added that he would try to purchase from his associates the booty which they had brought away, and even if he could not return the entire quantity he would send back all that he could. We need not stop to wonder whether Lady Selkirk really believed such a statement; but the truth is that about five years later the whole of the plate came back, carriage paid, in exactly the same condition as it had left the castle. Apparently it had never been unpacked, for the tea leaves were still in the teapot, just as they had been taken away on that exciting morning.

But to come back to the ship. After leaving the Solway Firth astern, Jones stood over to the Irish coast and entered Belfast Lough, amusing himself on the way by burning or capturing several fishing craft. But it happened that he was espied by Captain Burdon of H.M.S. *Drake*, a sloop. Seeing Jones' ship coming along, he took her to be a merchantman, and so from her he could impress some seamen. So the officer lowered a boat and sent her off. But when the boat's crew came aboard Jones' vessel they had the

surprise of their lives, for instead of arresting they were themselves arrested. After this it seemed to Jones more prudent to leave Belfast alone and get away with his capture. Meanwhile, Captain Burdon was getting anxious about his men, as the boat had not returned. Moreover, he noticed that the supposed merchantman was now crowding on all possible sail, so he at once prepared his sloop for giving chase and prepared for action, and, on coming up with the privateer, began a sharp fire.

Night, however, intervened, and the firing had to stop, but when daylight returned the engagement recommenced and continued for an hour. A fierce encounter was fought on both sides, and at length Captain Burdon and his first lieutenant were killed, as well as twenty of the crew disabled. The *Drake's* topmast was shot away and the ship was considerably damaged, so that there was no other alternative but to surrender to the privateer.

But as both sides of the Irish Channel were now infuriated against Jones, he determined to leave these parts, and taking his prize with him proceeded to Brest, where he arrived in safety. In the following year, instead of the *Ranger* he had command of a frigate called the *Bon Homme Richard*, a 40-gun ship with 370 crew. In addition to this vessel he had also the frigate *Alliance*, of 36 guns and 300 crew; the brig *Vengeance*, 14 guns and 70 men; a cutter of eighteen tons; and a French frigate named the *Pallas*. All except the last mentioned were in the service of the American Congress. A little further down the coast of the Bay of Biscay than Brest is L'Orient, and from

this port Jones sailed with the above fleet in the summer of 1779, arriving off the Kerry coast, where he sent a boat's crew ashore to bring back sheep. But the natives captured the boat's crew and lodged them in Tralee gaol.

After this Jones sailed to the east of Scotland and captured a number of prizes, all of which he sent on to France. Finally he determined to attempt no less a plan than burn the shipping in Leith harbour and collect tribute from the undefended towns of the Fife-shire coast. He came into the Firth of Forth, but as both wind and tide were foul, he let go under the island of Inchkeith. Next day he weighed anchor and again tried to make Leith, but the breeze had now increased to a gale, and he sprung one of his topmasts which caused him to bear up and leave the Firth. He now rejoined his squadron and cruised along the east coast of England. Towards the end of September he fell in with a British convoy bound from the Baltic, being escorted by two men-of-war, namely, H.M.S. *Serapis*, (44 guns), and H.M.S. *Countess of Scarborough* (20 guns). And then followed a most memorable engagement. In order that the reader may be afforded some opportunity of realising how doughty an opponent was this Paul Jones, and how this corsair was able to make a ship of the Royal Navy strike colours, I append the following despatch which was written by Captain Pearson, R.N., who commanded the *Serapis*. The *Countess of Scarborough* was under command of Captain Thomas Piercy, and this officer also confirmed the account of the disaster. The narrative is so succinct and clear

that it needs no further explanation. The letter was written from the Texel, whither Pearson was afterwards taken:—

“*Pallas* FRIGATE IN CONGRESS SERVICE,
TEXEL, October 6, 1779.

“On the 23rd ult. being close in with Scarborough about twelve o'clock, a boat came on board with a letter from the bailiffs of that corporation, giving information of a flying squadron of the enemy's ship being on the coast, of a part of the said squadron having been seen from thence the day before standing to the southward. As soon as I received this intelligence I made the signal for the convoy to bear down under my lee, and repeated it with two guns; notwithstanding which the van of the convoy kept their wind with all sail stretching out to the southward from under Flam-borough-head, till between twelve and one, when the headmost of them got sight of the enemy's ships, which were then in chase of them. They then tacked, and made the best of their way under the shore for Scarborough, letting fly their topgallant sheets, and firing guns; upon which I made all the sail I could to windward, to get between the enemy's ship and the convoy, which I soon effected. At one o'clock we got sight of the enemy's ship from the masthead, and about four we made them plain from the deck to be three large ships and a brig! Upon which I made the *Countess of Scarborough's* signal to join me, she being in-shore with the convoy; at the same time I made the signal for the convoy to make the best of their way, and repeated the signal with two guns. I then brought-to to let the *Countess of Scarborough* come up, and cleared ship for action.

“At half-past five the *Countess of Scarborough* joined

me, the enemy's ships bearing down upon us with a light breeze at S.S.W.; at six tacked and laid our head in-shore, in order to keep our ground the better between the enemy's ships and the convoy; soon after which we perceived the ships bearing down upon us to be a two-decked ship and two frigates, but from their keeping end upon us in bearing down, we could not discern what colours they were under. At twenty minutes past seven, the largest ship of the two brought-to on our lee-bow, within musket shot. I hailed him, and asked what ship it was? They answered in English, the *Princess Royal*. I then asked where they belonged to? They answered evasively; on which I told them, if they did not answer directly I would fire into them. They then answered with a shot, which was instantly returned with a broadside; and after exchanging two or three broadsides, he backed his topsails, and dropped upon our quarter, within pistol-shot; then filled again, put his helm a-weather, and ran us on board upon our weather quarter, and attempted to board us, but being repulsed he sheered off: upon which I backed our topsails in order to get square with him again; which, as soon as he observed; he then filled, put his helm a-weather, and laid us athwart hawse; his mizzen shrouds took our jib-boom, which hung for some time, till it at last gave way, and we dropt alongside each other head and stern, when the fluke of our spare anchor hooking his quarter, we became so close fore-and-aft, that the muzzles of our guns touched each other's sides.

"In this position we engaged from half-past eight till half-past ten; during which time, from the great quantity and variety of combustible matters which they threw upon our decks, chains, and, in short, into every part of the ship, we were on fire not less than ten or twelve times in different parts of the ship, and it was with the

greatest difficulty and exertion imaginable at times, that we were able to get it extinguished. At the same time the largest of the two frigates kept sailing round us during the whole action, and raking us fore and aft, by which means she killed or wounded almost every man on the quarter and main decks. At half-past nine, either from a hand grenade being thrown in at one of our lower-deck ports, or from some other accident, a cartridge of powder was set on fire, the flames of which running from cartridge to cartridge all the way aft, blew up the whole of the people and officers that were quartered abaft the main mast; from which unfortunate circumstance all those guns were rendered useless for the remainder of the action, and I fear the greatest part of the people will lose their lives.

"At ten o'clock they called for quarters from the ship alongside, and said they had struck. Hearing this, I called upon the captain to say if they had struck, or if he asked for quarter; but receiving no answer, after repeating my words two or three times, I called for the boarders, and ordered them to board, which they did; but the moment they were on board her, they discovered a superior number lying under cover, with pikes in their hands, ready to receive them; on which our people retreated instantly into our own ship, and returned to their guns again until half-past ten, when the frigate coming across our stern, and pouring her broadside into us again, without our being able to bring a gun to bear on her, I found it in vain, and in short impracticable, from the situation we were in, to stand out any longer with any prospect of success; I therefore struck. Our main-mast at the same time went by the board.

"The first lieutenant and myself were immediately escorted into the ship alongside, when we found her to be an American ship of war, called the *Bon Homme*

Richard, of forty guns, and 375 men, commanded by Captain Paul Jones; the other frigate which engaged us, to be the *Alliance*, of forty guns, and 300 men; and the third frigate, which engaged and took the *Countess of Scarborough*, after two hours' action, to be the *Pallas*, a French frigate of thirty guns, and 275 men; the *Vengeance*, an armed brig, of twelve guns, and 70 men; all in Congress service, under the command of Paul Jones. They fitted out and sailed from Port l'Orient the latter end of July, and come north about. They have on board 300 English prisoners, which they have taken in different vessels in their way round since they left France, and have ransomed some others. On my going on board the *Bon Homme Richard* I found her in the greatest distress, her quarters and counter on the lower deck being entirely drove in, and the whole of her lower-deck guns dismounted; she was also on fire in two places, and six or seven feet of water in her hold, which kept increasing upon them all night and next day, till they were obliged to quit her. She had 300 men killed and wounded in the action. Our loss in the *Serapis* was also very great.

"My officers, and people in general, behaved well; and I should be very remiss in my attentions to their merit were I to omit recommending them to their Lordships' favour.

"I must at the same time beg leave to inform their Lordships that Captain Piercy, in the *Countess of Scarborough*, was not the least remiss in his duty, he having given me every assistance in his power; and as much as could be expected from such a ship in engaging the attention of the *Pallas*, a frigate of thirty-two guns, during the whole action.

"I am extremely sorry for the accident that has happened, that of losing His Majesty's ship which I had the

honour to command; but at the same time I flatter myself with the hope that their Lordships will be convinced that she has not been given away; but, on the contrary, that every exertion has been used to defend her, and that two essential pieces of service to our country have arisen from it: the one, in wholly oversetting the cruise and intentions of this flying squadron; the other is rescuing the whole of a valuable convoy from falling into the hands of the enemy, which must have been the case had I acted any otherwise than I did. We have been driving about the North Sea ever since the action, and endeavouring to make to any port we possibly could; but have not been able to get into any place till to-day we arrived in the Texel. Herewith I enclose you the most correct list of the killed and wounded I have as yet been able to procure, from my people being dispersed among the different ships, and having been refused permission to make much of them.

“R. PEARSON.

“P. S. I am refused permission to wait on Sir Joseph Yorke,¹ and even to go on shore.

“The killed were—1 boatswain, 1 master's mate, 2 midshipmen, 1 quarter-master, 29 sailors, 15 marines—49.

“Wounded—second lieutenant Michael Stanhope, Lieutenant Whiteman, marines, 2 surgeon's mates, 6 petty officers, 46 sailors, 12 marines—total, 68.”

It is obvious that the British Officers had fought their ships most gallantly, and the King showed his appreciation by conferring the honour of knighthood on Captain Pearson, and soon after Piercy was promoted to the rank of Post-Captain, and promotion

¹ The British Ambassador.

was also granted to the other officers. But recognition was shown not merely by the State but by the City, for the Directors of the Royal Exchange Assurance Company presented Pearson with a piece of plate valued at a hundred guineas, and Piercy with a similar gift valued at fifty guineas. They further voted their thanks to the officers for having protected the rich fleets under their care.

The British Ambassador, Sir Joseph York, had considerable difficulty in procuring the release of the prisoners which Paul Jones had made from His Majesty's ships, and although he strenuously urged the States General to detain Jones and his ships as a rebel subject with unlawful ships, yet the squadron, after being carefully blockaded, succeeded in escaping one dark night to Dunkirk. Jones had lost his ship the *Bon Homme Richard* as a result of the fight, and now made the *Alliance* his flagship.

The story of Paul Jones from now is not capable of completion. For a period of several years his movements were somewhat mysterious, although it is known that on one occasion he sailed across the Atlantic in the remarkable time of three weeks with despatches from the American Congress. Then the fame of this remarkable fellow begins to wane. After peace was concluded the active brain and fervent spirit of Paul Jones were not required, and he chafed against the fetters of unemployment. It is true that he offered his services to the Empress of Russia in 1788, but he seems very soon to have gone to Paris where he spent the rest of his life. There was no employment for him in the French Navy, and

finally he was reduced to abject poverty and ended his days in the year 1792.

[It is not quite easy, altogether, to estimate the character of a man so contradictory as Paul Jones. Had he been born in another age and placed in different circumstances, there is no telling how illustrious he might not have become. He was certainly a magnificent seaman and fighting man, but over and above all he was an adventurer. Idolised as a hero both in America and France, he struck terror in Britain.

He was primarily a sailor of fortune. As one can see from his life his devotion to adventure was far superior to his devotion to nationality—Scotch, English, French, American or Russian. He was willing and anxious to go wherever there was fighting, wherever glory could be obtained.



JEAN LAFITTE—THE PIRATE OF THE GULF

[From "The Pirates' Own Book."]

JEAN LAFITTE was born at St. Maloes in France, in 1781, and went to sea at the age of thirteen; after several voyages in Europe, and to the coast of Africa, he was appointed mate of a French East Indiaman, bound to Madras. On the outward passage they encountered a heavy gale off the Cape of Good Hope, which sprung the mainmast and otherwise injured the ship, which determined the captain to bear up for the Mauritius, where he arrived in safety; a quarrel having taken place on the passage out between Lafitte and the captain, he abandoned the ship and refused to continue the voyage. Several privateers were at this time fitting out at this island, and Lafitte was appointed captain of one of these vessels; after a cruise during which he robbed the vessels of other nations besides those of England, and thus committing piracy, he stopped at the Seychelles, and took in a load of slaves for the Mauritius; but being chased by an English frigate as far north as the equator, he found himself in a very awkward condition; not having provisions enough on board his ship to carry him back to the French Colony. He therefore conceived the bold project of proceeding to the Bay of Bengal, in order to get provisions from on

board some English ships. In his ship of two hundred tons, with only two guns and twenty-six men, he attacked and took an English armed schooner with a numerous crew. After putting nineteen of his own crew on board the schooner, he took the command of her and proceeded to cruise upon the coast of Bengal. He there fell in with the *Pagoda*, a vessel belonging to the English East India Company, armed with twenty-six twelve pounders and manned with one hundred and fifty men. Expecting that the enemy would take him for a pilot of the Ganges, he manœuvred accordingly. The *Pagoda* manifested no suspicions, whereupon he suddenly darted with his brave followers upon her decks, overturned all who opposed them, and speedily took the ship. After a very successful cruise he arrived safe at the Mauritius, and took the command of *La Confiance* of twenty-six guns and two hundred and fifty men, and sailed for the coast of British India. Off the Sand Heads in October, 1807, Lafitte fell in with the *Queen* East India-man, with a crew of near four hundred men, and carrying forty guns; he conceived the bold project of getting possession of her. Never was there beheld a more unequal conflict; even the height of the vessel compared to the feeble privateer augmented the chances against Lafitte; but the difficulty and danger far from discouraging this intrepid sailor, acted as an additional spur to his brilliant valor. After electrifying his crew with a few words of hope and ardor, he manœuvred and ran on board of the enemy. In this position he received a broadside when close too; but he expected this, and made his men lay flat upon

the deck. After the first fire they all rose, and from the yards and tops, threw bombs and grenades into the forecastle of the Indiaman. This sudden and unforeseen attack caused a great havoc. In an instant, death and terror made them abandon a part of the vessel near the mizzen-mast. Lafitte, who observed every thing, seized the decisive moment, beat to arms and forty of his crew prepared to board, with pistols in their hands and daggers held between their teeth. As soon as they got on deck, they rushed upon the affrighted crowd, who retreated to the steerage, and endeavored to defend themselves there. Lafitte thereupon ordered a second division to board, which he headed himself; the captain of the Indiaman was killed and all were swept away in a moment. Lafitte caused a gun to be loaded with grape, which he pointed towards the place where the crowd was assembled, threatening to exterminate them. The English deeming resistance fruitless, surrendered, and Lafitte hastened to put a stop to the slaughter. This exploit, hitherto unparalleled, resounded through India, and the name of Lafitte became the terror of English commerce in these latitudes.

As British vessels now traversed the Indian Ocean under strong convoys, game became scarce, and Lafitte determined to visit France; and after doubling the Cape of Good Hope, he coasted up to the Gulf of Guinea, and in the Bight of Benin, took two valuable prizes loaded with gold dust, ivory and Palm Oil; with this booty he reached St. Maloes in safety. After a short stay at his native place he fitted out a brigantine, mounting twenty guns and one hundred and fifty men,

and sailed for Gaudaloupe; amongst the West India Islands, he made several valuable prizes; but during his absence on a cruise the island having been taken by the British, he proceeded to Carthagera, and from thence to Barrataria. After this period, the conduct of Lafitte at Barrataria does not appear to be characterized by the audacity and boldness of his former career; but he had amassed immense sums of booty, and as he was obliged to have dealings with the merchants of the United States, and the West Indies, who frequently owed him large sums, and the cautious dealings necessary to found and conduct a colony of Pirates and Smugglers in the very teeth of a civilized nation, obliged Lafitte to cloak as much as possible his real character.

As we have said before, at the period of the taking of Gaudaloupe by the British, most of the privateers commissioned by the government of that island, and which were then on a cruise, not being able to return to any of the West India Islands, made for Barrataria, there to take in a supply of water and provisions, recruit the health of their crews, and dispose of their prizes, which could not be admitted into any of the ports of the United States, we being at that time in peace with Great Britain. Most of the commissions granted to privateers by the French government at Gaudaloupe, having expired sometime after the declaration of the independence of Carthagera, many of the privateers repaired to that port, for the purpose of obtaining from the new government commissions for cruising against Spanish vessels. Having duly obtained their commissions, they in a manner

blockaded for a long time all the ports belonging to the royalists, and made numerous captives, which they carried into Barrataria. Under this denomination is comprised part of the coast of Louisiana to the west of the mouths of the Mississippi, comprehended between Bastien bay on the east, and the mouths of the river or bayou la Fourche on the west. Not far from the sea are lakes called the great and little lakes of Barrataria, communicating with one another by several large bayous with a great number of branches. There is also the island of Barrataria, at the extremity of which is a place called the Temple, which denomination it owes to several mounds of shells thrown up there by the Indians. The name of Barrataria is also given to a large basin which extends the whole length of the cypress swamps, from the Gulf of Mexico to three miles above New Orleans. These waters disembogue into the gulf by two entrances of the bayou Barrataria, between which lies an island called Grand Terre, six miles in length, and from two to three miles in breadth, running parallel with the coast. In the western entrance is the great pass of Barrataria, which has from nine to ten feet of water. Within this pass about two leagues from the open sea, lies the only secure harbor on the coast, and accordingly this was the harbor frequented by the *Pirates*, so well known by the name of Barratarians.

At Grande Terre, the privateers publicly made sale by auction, of the cargoes of their prizes. From all parts of Lower Louisiana, people resorted to Barrataria, without being at all solicitous to conceal the object of their journey. The most respectable inhabi-

tants of the state, especially those living in the country, were in the habit of purchasing smuggled goods coming from Barrataria.

The government of the United States sent an expedition under Commodore Patterson, to disperse the settlement of marauders at Barrataria; the following is an extract of his letter to the secretary of war.

SIR—I have the honor to inform you that I departed from this city on the 11th June, accompanied by Col. Ross, with a detachment of seventy of the 44th regiment of infantry. On the 12th, reached the schooner Carolina, of Plaquemine, and formed a junction with the gun vessels at the Balize on the 13th, sailed from the southwest pass on the evening of the 15th, and at half past 8 o'clock, A. M. on the 16th, made the Island of Barrataria, and discovered a number of vessels in the harbor, some of which shewed Carthaginian colors. At 2 o'clock, perceived the pirates forming their vessels, ten in number, including prizes, into a line of battle near the entrance of the harbor, and making every preparation to offer me battle. At 10 o'clock, wind light and variable, formed the order of battle with six gun boats and the Sea Horse tender, mounting one six pounder and fifteen men, and a launch mounting one twelve pound carronade; the schooner Carolina, drawing too much water to cross the bar. At half past 10 o'clock, perceived several smokes along the coasts as signals, and at the same time a white flag hoisted on board a schooner at the fort, an American flag at the mainmast head and a Carthaginian flag (under which the pirates cruise) at her topping lift; replied with a white flag at my main; at 11 o'clock, discovered that the pirates had fired two of their best schooners; hauled down my white

flag and made the *signal for battle*; hoisting with a large white flag bearing the words "Pardon for Deserters"; having heard there was a number on shore from the army and navy. At a quarter past 11 o'clock, two gun boats grounded and were passed agreeably to my previous orders, by the other four which entered the harbor, manned by my barge and the boats belonging to the grounded vessels, and proceeded in to my great disappointment. I perceived that the pirates abandoned their vessels, and were flying in all directions. I immediately sent the launch and two barges with small boats in pursuit of them. At meridian, took possession of all their vessels in the harbor consisting of six schooners and one felucca, cruisers, and prizes of the pirates, one brig, a prize, and two armed schooners under the Carthaginian flag, both in the line of battle, with the armed vessels of the pirates, and apparently with an intention to aid them in any resistance they might make against me, as their crews were at quarters, tompons out of their guns, and matches lighted. Col. Ross at the same time landed, and with his command took possession of their establishment on shore, consisting of about forty houses of different sizes, badly constructed, and thatched with palmetto leaves.

When I perceived the enemy forming their vessels into a line of battle I felt confident from their number and very advantageous position, and their number of men, that they would have fought me; their not doing so I regret; for had they, I should have been enabled more effectually to destroy or make prisoners of them and their leaders; but it is a subject of great satisfaction to me, to have effected the object of my enterprise, without the loss of a man.

The enemy had mounted on their vessels twenty pieces of cannon of different calibre; and as I have since

learnt, from eight hundred, to one thousand men of all nations and colors.

Early in the morning of the 20th, the Carolina at anchor, about five miles distant, made the signal of a "strange sail in sight to eastward"; immediately after she weighed anchor, and gave chase the strange sail, standing for Grand Terre, with all sail; at half past 8 o'clock, the chase hauled her wind off shore to escape; sent acting Lieut. Spedding with four boats manned and armed to prevent her passing the harbor; at 9 o'clock, A. M., the chase fired upon the Carolina, which was returned; each vessel continued firing during the chase, when their long guns could reach. At 10 o'clock, the chase grounded outside of the bar, at which time the Carolina was from the shoalness of the water obliged to haul her wind off shore and give up the chase; opened a fire upon the chase across the island from the gun vessels. At half past 10 o'clock, she hauled down her colors and was taken possession of. She proved to be the armed schooner Gen. Boliver; by grounding she broke both her rudder pintles and made water; took from her her armament, consisting of one long brass eighteen pounder, one long brass six pounder, two twelve pounders, small arms, &c., and twenty-one packages of dry goods. On the afternoon of the 23d, got underway with the whole squadron, in all seventeen vessels, but during the night one escaped, and the next day arrived at New Orleans with my whole squadron.

At different times the English had sought to attack the pirates at Barrataria, in hopes of taking their prizes, and even their armed vessels. Of these attempts of the British, suffice it to instance that of June 23rd, 1813, when two privateers being at anchor

off Cat Island, a British sloop of war anchored at the entrance of the pass, and sent her boats to endeavor to take the privateers; but they were repulsed with considerable loss.

Such was the state of affairs, when on the 2d Sept., 1814, there appeared an armed brig on the coast opposite the pass. She fired a gun at a vessel about to enter, and forced her to run aground; she then tacked and shortly after came to an anchor at the entrance of the pass. It was not easy to understand the intentions of this vessel, who, having commenced with hostilities on her first appearance now seemed to announce an amicable disposition. Mr. Lafitte then went off in a boat to examine her, venturing so far that he could not escape from the pinnace sent from the brig, and making towards the shore, bearing British colors and a flag of truce. In this pinnace were two naval officers. One was Capt. Lockyer, commander of the brig. The first question they asked was, where was Mr. Lafitte? he not choosing to make himself known to them, replied that the person they inquired for was on shore. They then delivered to him a packet directed to Mr. Lafitte, Barrataria, requesting him to take particular care of it, and to deliver it into Mr. Lafitte's hands. He prevailed on them to make for the shore, and as soon as they got near enough to be in his power, he made himself known, recommending to them at the same time to conceal the business on which they had come. Upwards of two hundred persons lined the shore, and it was a general cry amongst the crews of the privateers at Grand Terre, that those British officers should be made prisoners

and sent to New Orleans as spies. It was with much difficulty that Lafitte dissuaded the multitude from this intent, and led the officers in safety to his dwelling. He thought very prudently that the papers contained in the packet might be of importance towards the safety of the country and that the officers if well watched could obtain no intelligence that might turn to the detriment of Louisiana. He now examined the contents of the packet, in which he found a proclamation addressed by Col. Edward Nichalls, in the service of his Britannic Majesty, and commander of the land forces on the coast of Florida, to the inhabitants of Louisiana. A letter from the same to Mr. Lafitte, the commander of Barrataria; an official letter from the honorable W. H. Percy, captain of the sloop of war *Hermes*, directed to Lafitte. When he had perused these letters, Capt. Lockyer enlarged on the subject of them and proposed to him to enter into the service of his Britannic Majesty with the rank of post captain and to receive the command of a 44 gun frigate. Also all those under his command, or over whom he had sufficient influence. He was also offered thirty thousand dollars, payable at Pensacola, and urged him not to let slip this opportunity of acquiring fortune and consideration. On Lafitte's requiring a few days to reflect upon these proposals, Capt. Lockyer observed to him that no reflection could be necessary respecting proposals that obviously precluded hesitation, as he was a Frenchman and proscribed by the American government. But to all his splendid promises and daring insinuations, Lafitte replied that in a few days he

would give a final answer; his object in this procrastination being to gain time to inform the officers of the state government of this nefarious project. Having occasion to go to some distance for a short time, the persons who had proposed to send the British officers prisoners to New Orleans, went and seized them in his absence, and confined both them and the crew of the pinnace, in a secure place, leaving a guard at the door. The British officers sent for Lafitte; but he, fearing an insurrection of the crews of the privateers, thought it advisable not to see them until he had first persuaded their captains and officers to desist from the measures on which they seemed bent. With this view he represented to the latter that, besides the infamy that would attach to them if they treated as prisoners people who had come with a flag of truce, they would lose the opportunity of discovering the projects of the British against Louisiana.

Early the next morning Lafitte caused them to be released from their confinement and saw them safe on board their pinnace, apologizing the detention. He now wrote to Capt Lockyer the following letter.

TO CAPTAIN LOCKYER.

Barrataria, 4th Sept. 1814.

SIR—The confusion which prevailed in our camp yesterday and this morning, and of which you have a complete knowledge, has prevented me from answering in a precise manner to the object of your mission; nor even at this moment can I give you all the satisfaction that you desire; however, if you could grant me a fortnight, I would be entirely at your disposal at the

end of that time. This delay is indispensable to enable me to put my affairs in order. You may communicate with me by sending a boat to the eastern point of the pass, where I will be found. You have inspired me with more confidence than the admiral, your superior officer, could have done himself; with you alone, I wish to deal, and from you also I will claim, in due time the reward of the services, which I may render to you.

Yours, &c.,

J. LAFITTE.

His object in writing that letter was, by appearing disposed to accede to their proposals, to give time to communicate the affair to the officers of the state government, and to receive from them instructions how to act, under circumstances so critical and important to the country. He accordingly wrote on the 4th September to Mr. Blanque, one of the representatives of the state, sending him all the papers delivered to him by the British officers with a letter addressed to his excellency, Gov. Claiborne of the state of Louisiana.

TO GOV. CLAIBORNE.

Barrataria, Sept. 4th, 1814.

SIR—In the firm persuasion that the choice made of you to fill the office of first magistrate of this state, was dictated by the esteem of your fellow citizens, and was conferred on merit, I confidently address you on an affair on which may depend the safety of this country. I offer to you to restore to this state several citizens, who perhaps in your eyes have lost that sacred title. I offer you them, however, such as you could wish to find them, ready to exert their utmost efforts in defence of the country. This point of Louisiana, which I occupy,

is of great importance in the present crisis. I tender my services to defend it; and the only reward I ask is that a stop be put to the proscription against me and my adherents, by an act of oblivion, for all that has been done hitherto. I am the stray sheep wishing to return to the fold. If you are thoroughly acquainted with the nature of my offences, I should appear to you much less guilty, and still worthy to discharge the duties of a good citizen. I have never sailed under any flag but that of the republic of Carthage, and my vessels are perfectly regular in that respect. If I could have brought my lawful prizes into the ports of this state, I should not have employed the illicit means that have caused me to be proscribed. I decline saying more on the subject, until I have the honor of your excellency's answer, which I am persuaded can be dictated only by wisdom. Should your answer not be favorable to my ardent desires, I declare to you that I will instantly leave the country, to avoid the imputation of having cooperated towards an invasion on this point, which cannot fail to take place, and to rest secure in the acquittal of my conscience.

I have the honor to be
your excellency's, &c.

J. LAFITTE.

The contents of these letters do honor to Lafitte's judgment, and evince his sincere attachment to the American cause. On the receipt of this packet from Lafitte, Mr. Blanque immediately laid its contents before the governor, who convened the committee of defence lately formed of which he was president; and Mr. Rancher, the bearer of Lafitte's packet, was sent back with a verbal answer to desire Lafitte to take no steps until it should be determined what was

expedient to be done; the message also contained an assurance that, in the meantime no steps should be taken against him for his past offences against the laws of the United States.

At the expiration of the time agreed on with Captain Lockyer, his ship appeared again on the coast with two others, and continued standing off and on before the pass for several days. But he pretended not to perceive the return of the sloop of war, who tired of waiting to no purpose put out to sea and disappeared.

Lafitte having received a guarantee from General Jackson for his safe passage from Barrataria to New Orleans and back, he proceeded forthwith to the city where he had an interview with Gov. Claiborne and the General. After the usual formalities and courtesies had taken place between these gentlemen, Lafitte addressed the Governor of Louisiana nearly as follows. "I have offered to defend for you that part of Louisiana I now hold. But not as an outlaw, would I be its defender. In that confidence, with which you have inspired me, I offer to restore to the state many citizens, now under my command. As I have remarked before, the point I occupy is of great importance in the present crisis. I tender not only my own services to defend it, but those of all I command; and the only reward I ask, is, that a stop be put to the proscription against me and my adherents, by an act of oblivion for all that has been done hitherto."

"My dear sir," said the Governor, who together with General Jackson, was impressed with admiration of his sentiments, "your praiseworthy wishes shall be

laid before the council of the state, and I will confer with my august friend here present, upon this important affair and send you an answer to-morrow." As Lafitte withdrew, the General said, "Farewell; when we meet again, I trust it will be in the ranks of the American army." The result of the conference was the issuing of the following order.

"The Governor of Louisiana, informed that many individuals implicated in the offences heretofore committed against the United States at Barrataria, express a willingness at the present crisis to enroll themselves and march against the enemy.

"He does hereby invite them to join the standard of the United States and is authorised to say, should their conduct in the field meet the approbation of the Major General, that that officer will unite with the Governor in a request to the president of the United States, to extend to each and every individual, so marching and acting, a free and full pardon." These general orders were placed in the hands of Lafitte, who circulated them among his dispersed followers, most of whom readily embraced the conditions of pardon they held out. In a few days many brave men and skillful artillerists, whose services contributed greatly to the safety of the invaded state, flocked to the standard of the United States, and by their conduct, received the highest approbation of General Jackson.

The morning of the eighth of January was ushered in with the discharge of rockets, the sound of cannon, and the cheers of the British soldiers advancing to the attack. The Americans, behind the breastwork,

awaited in calm intrepidity their approach. The enemy advanced in close column of sixty men in front, shouldering their muskets and carrying fascines and ladders. A storm of rockets preceded them, and an incessant fire opened from the battery which commanded the advanced column. The musketry and rifles from the Kentuckians and Tennesseans joined the fire of the artillery, and in a few moments was heard along the line a ceaseless, rolling fire, whose tremendous noise resembled the continued reverberation of thunder. One of these guns, a twenty-four pounder, placed upon the breastwork in the third embrasure from the river, drew, from the fatal skill and activity with which it was managed, even in the heat of battle, the admiration of both Americans and British; and became one of the points most dreaded by the advancing foe.

Here was stationed Lafitte and his lieutenant Dominique and a large band of his men, who during the continuance of the battle, fought with unparalleled bravery. The British already had been twice driven back in the utmost confusion, with the loss of their Commander-in-chief, and two general officers.

Two other batteries were manned by the Barratians, who served their pieces with the steadiness and precision of veteran gunners. In the first attack of the enemy, a column pushed forward between the levee and river; and so precipitate was their charge that the outposts were forced to retire, closely pressed by the enemy. Before the batteries could meet the charge, clearing the ditch, they gained the redoubt through the embrasures, leaping over the parapet,

and overwhelming by their superior force the small party stationed there.

Lafitte, who was commanding in conjunction with his officers, at one of the guns, no sooner saw the bold movement of the enemy, than calling a few of his best men by his side, he sprung forward to the point of danger, and clearing the breastwork of the entrenchments, leaped, cutlass in hand, into the midst of the enemy, followed by a score of his men, who in many a hard fought battle upon his own deck, had been well tried.

Astonished at the intrepidity which could lead men to leave their entrenchments and meet them hand to hand, and pressed by the suddenness of the charge, which was made with the recklessness, skill and rapidity of practised boarders bounding upon the deck of an enemy's vessel, they began to give way, while one after another, two British officers fell before the cutlass of the pirate, as they were bravely encouraging their men. All the energies of the British were now concentrated to scale the breastwork, which one daring officer had already mounted. While Lafitte and his followers, seconding a gallant band of volunteer riflemen, formed a phalanx which they in vain essayed to penetrate.

The British finding it impossible to take the city and the havock in their ranks being dreadful, made a precipitate retreat, leaving the field covered with their dead and wounded.

General Jackson, in his correspondence with the secretary of war did not fail to notice the conduct of the "Corsairs of Barrataria," who were, as we have

already seen, employed in the artillery service. In the course of the campaign they proved, in an unequivocal manner, that they had been misjudged by the enemy, who a short time previous to the invasion of Louisiana, had hoped to enlist them in his cause. Many of them were killed or wounded in the defence of the country. Their zeal, their courage, and their skill, were remarked by the whole army, who could no longer consider such brave men as criminals. In a few days peace was declared between Great Britain and the United States.

The piratical establishment of Barrataria having been broken up and Lafitte not being content with leading an honest, peaceful life, procured some fast sailing vessels, and with a great number of his followers, proceeded to Galvezton Bay, in Texas, during the year 1819; where he received a commission from General Long; and had five vessels generally cruising and about 300 men. Two open boats bearing commissions from General Humbert, of Galvezton, having robbed a plantation on the Marmento river, of negroes, money, &c., were captured in the Sabine river, by the boats of the United States schooner *Lynx*. One of the men was hung by Lafitte, who dreaded the vengeance of the American government. The *Lynx* also captured one of his schooners, and her prize that had been for a length of time smuggling in the Carmento. One of his cruisers, named the *Jupiter*, returned safe to Galvezton after a short cruise with a valuable cargo, principally specie; she was the first vessel that sailed under the authority of Texas. The American government well knowing

that where Lafitte was, piracy and smuggling would be the order of the day, sent a vessel of war to cruise in the Gulf of Mexico, and scour the coasts of Texas. Lafitte having been appointed governor of Galvezton and one of the cruisers being stationed off the port to watch his motions, it so annoyed him that he wrote the following letter to her commander, Lieutenant Madison.

To the commandant of the American cruiser, off the port of Galvezton.

SIR—I am convinced that you are a cruiser of the navy, ordered by your government. I have therefore deemed it proper to inquire into the cause of your living before this port without communicating your intention. I shall by this message inform you, that the port of Galvezton belongs to and is in the possession of the republic of Texas, and was made a port of entry the 9th October last. And whereas the supreme congress of said republic have thought proper to appoint me as governor of this place, in consequence of which, if you have any demands on said government, or persons belonging to or residing in the same, you will please to send an officer with such demands, whom you may be assured will be treated with the greatest politeness, and receive every satisfaction required. But if you are ordered, or should attempt to enter this port in a hostile manner, my oath and duty to the government compels me to rebut your intentions at the expense of my life.

To prove to you my intentions towards the welfare and harmony of your government I send enclosed the declaration of several prisoners, who were taken in custody yesterday, and by a court of inquiry appointed for that purpose, were found guilty of robbing the inhabitants of the United States of a number of slaves

and specie. The gentlemen bearing this message will give you any reasonable information relating to this place, that may be required.

Yours, &c.

J. LAFITTE.

About this time one Mitchell, who had formerly belonged to Lafitte's gang, collected upwards of one hundred and fifty desperadoes and fortified himself on an island near Barrataria, with several pieces of cannon; and swore that he and all his comrades would perish within their trenches before they would surrender to any man. Four of this gang having gone to New Orleans on a frolic, information was given to the city watch, and the house surrounded, when the whole four with cocked pistols in both hands sallied out and marched through the crowd which made way for them and no person dared to make an attempt to arrest them.

The United States cutter, *Alabama*, on her way to the station off the mouth of the Mississippi, captured a piratical schooner belonging to Lafitte; she carried two guns and twenty-five men, and was fitted out at New Orleans, and commanded by one of Lafitte's lieutenants, named Le Fage; the schooner had a prize in company and being hailed by the cutter, poured into her a volley of musketry; the cutter then opened upon the privateer and a smart action ensued which terminated in favor of the cutter, which had four men wounded and two of them dangerously; but the pirate had six men killed; both vessels were captured and brought into the Bayou St. John. An expedition was now sent to dislodge Mitchell and his comrades from

the island he had taken possession of; after coming to anchor, a summons was sent for him to surrender, which was answered by a brisk cannonade from his breastwork. The vessels were warped close in shore; and the boats manned and sent on shore whilst the vessels opened upon the pirates; the boat's crews landed under a galling fire of grape shot and formed in the most undaunted manner; and although a severe loss was sustained they entered the breastwork at the point of the bayonet; after a desperate fight the pirates gave way, many were taken prisoners but Mitchell and the greatest part escaped to the cypress swamps where it was impossible to arrest them.

A large quantity of dry goods and specie together with other booty was taken. Twenty of the pirates were taken and brought to New Orleans, and tried before Judge Hall, of the Circuit Court of the United States, sixteen were brought in guilty; and after the Judge had finished pronouncing sentence of death upon the hardened wretches, several of them cried out in open court, *Murder—by God*.

Accounts of these transactions having reached Lafitte, he plainly perceived there was a determination to sweep all his cruisers from the sea; and a war of extermination appeared to be waged against him.

In a fit of desperation he procured a large and fast sailing brigantine mounting sixteen guns and having selected a crew of one hundred and sixty men he started without any commission as a regular pirate determined to rob all nations and neither to give or receive quarter. A British sloop of war which was cruising in the Gulf of Mexico, having heard that La-

fitte himself was at sea, kept a sharp look out from the mast head; when one morning as an officer was sweeping the horizon with his glass he discovered a long dark looking vessel, low in the water, but having very tall masts, with sails white as the driven snow. As the sloop of war had the weather gage of the pirate and could outsail her before the wind, she set her studding sails and crowded every inch of canvass in chase; as soon as Lafitte ascertained the character of his opponent, he ordered the awnings to be furled and set his big square-sail and shot rapidly through the water; but as the breeze freshened the sloop of war came up rapidly with the pirate, who, finding no chance of escaping, determined to sell his life as dearly as possible; the guns were cast loose and the shot handed up; and a fire opened upon the ship which killed a number of men and carried away her foretopmast, but she reserved her fire until within cable's distance of the pirate; when she fired a general discharge from her broadside, and a volley of small arms; the broadside was too much elevated to hit the low hull of the brigantine, but was not without effect; the foretopmast fell, the jaws of the main gaff were severed and a large proportion of the rigging came rattling down on deck; ten of the pirates were killed, but Lafitte remained unhurt. The sloop of war entered her men over the starboard bow and a terrific contest with pistols and cutlasses ensued; Lafitte received two wounds at this time which disabled him, a grape shot broke the bone of his right leg and he received a cut in the abdomen, but his crew fought like tigers and the deck was ankle deep with blood and gore; the captain of the boarders

received such a tremendous blow on the head from the butt end of a musket, as stretched him senseless on the deck near Lafitte, who raised his dagger to stab him to the heart. But the tide of his existence was ebbing like a torrent, his brain was giddy, his aim faltered and the point descended in the Captain's right thigh; dragging away the blade with the last convulsive energy of a death struggle, he lacerated the wound. Again the reeking steel was upheld, and Lafitte placed his hand near the Captain's heart, to make his aim more sure; again the dizziness of dissolution spread over his sight, down came the dagger into the captain's left thigh and Lafitte was a corpse.

The upper deck was cleared, and the boarders rushed below on the main deck to complete their conquest. Here the slaughter was dreadful, till the pirates called out for quarter, and the carnage ceased; all the pirates that surrendered were taken to Jamaica and tried before the Admiralty court where sixteen were condemned to die, six were subsequently pardoned and ten executed.

Thus perished Lafitte, a man superior in talent, in knowledge of his profession, in courage, and moreover in physical strength; but unfortunately his reckless career was marked with crimes of the darkest dye.

IN MALAY WATERS

[From "The Pirates' Own Book."]

A GLANCE at the map of the East India Islands will convince us that this region of the globe must, from its natural configuration and locality, be peculiarly liable to become the seat of piracy. These islands form an immense cluster, lying as if it were in the high road which connects the commercial nations of Europe and Asia with each other, affording a hundred fastnesses from which to waylay the traveller. A large proportion of the population is at the same time confined to the coasts or the estuaries of rivers; they are fishermen and mariners; they are barbarous and poor, therefore rapacious, faithless and sanguinary. These are circumstances, it must be confessed, which militate strongly to beget a piratical character. It is not surprising, then, that the Malays should have been notorious for their depredations from our first acquaintance with them.

Among the tribes of the Indian Islands, the most noted for their piracies are, of course, the most idle, and the least industrious, and particularly such as are unaccustomed to follow agriculture or trade as regular pursuits. The agricultural tribes of Java, and many of Sumatra, never commit piracy at all; and the most civilized inhabitants of Celebes are very little addicted to this vice.

Among the most confirmed pirates are the true Malays, inhabiting the small islands about the eastern extremity of the straits of Malacca, and those lying between Sumatra and Borneo, down to Billitin and Cavimattir. Still more noted than these, are the inhabitants of certain islands situated between Borneo and the Philippines, of whom the most desperate and enterprising are the Soolos and Illanoons, the former inhabiting a well known group of islands of the same name, and the latter being one of the most numerous nations of the great island of Magindando. The depredations of the proper Malays extend from Junkceylon to Java, through its whole coast, as far as Grip to Papir and Kritti, in Borneo and the western coast of Celebes. In another direction they infest the coasting trade of the Cochin Chinese and Siamese nations in the Gulf of Siam, finding sale for their booty, and shelter for themselves in the ports of Tringham, Calantan and Sahang. The most noted piratical stations of these people are the small islands about Lingin and Rhio, particularly Galang, Tamiang and Maphar. The chief of this last has seventy or eighty proas fit to undertake piratical expeditions.

The Soolo pirates chiefly confine their depredations to the Phillipine Islands, which they have continued to infest, with little interruption, for near three centuries, in open defiance of the Spanish authorities, and the numerous establishments maintained to check them. The piracies of the Illanoons, on the contrary, are widely extended, being carried on all the way from their native country to the Spice Islands, on one side, and to the Straits of Malacca on the other. In these

last, indeed, they have formed, for the last few years, two permanent establishments; one of these situated on Sumatra, near Indragiri, is called Ritti, and the other a small island on the coast of Linga, is named Salangut. Besides those who are avowed pirates, it ought to be particularly noticed that a great number of the Malayan princes must be considered as accessories to their crimes, for they afford them protection, contribute to their outfit, and often share in their booty; so that a piratical proa is too commonly more welcome in their harbours than a fair trader.

The Malay piratical proas are from six to eight tons burden, and run from six to eight fathoms in length. They carry from one to two small guns, with commonly four swivels or rantakas to each side, and a crew of from twenty to thirty men. When they engage, they put up a strong bulwark of thick plank; the Illanoon proas are much larger and more formidable, and commonly carry from four to six guns, and a proportionable number of swivels, and have not unfrequently a double bulwark covered with buffalo hides; their crews consist of from forty to eighty men. Both, of course, are provided with spears, krisses, and as many fire arms as they can procure. Their modes of attack are cautious and cowardly, for plunder and not fame is their object. They lie concealed under the land, until they find a fit object and opportunity. The time chosen is when a vessel runs aground, or is becalmed, in the interval between the land and sea breezes. A vessel underway is seldom or never attacked. Several of the marauders attack together, and station themselves under the bows and quarters

of a ship when she has no longer steerage way, and is incapable of pointing her guns. The action continues often for several hours, doing very little mischief; but when the crew are exhausted with the defence, or have expended their ammunition, the pirates take this opportunity of boarding in a mass. This may suggest the best means of defence. A ship, when attacked during a calm, ought, perhaps, rather to stand on the defensive, and wait if possible the setting in of the sea breeze, than attempt any active operations, which would only fatigue the crew, and disable them from making the necessary defence when boarding is attempted. Boarding netting, pikes and pistols, appear to afford effectual security; and, indeed, we conceive that a vessel thus defended by resolute crews of Europeans or Americans stand but little danger from any open attack of pirates whatsoever; for their guns are so ill served, that neither the hull or the rigging of a vessel can receive much damage from them, however much protracted the contest. The pirates are upon the whole extremely impartial in the selection of their prey, making little choice between natives and strangers, giving always, however, a natural preference to the most timid, and the most easily overcome.

When an expedition is undertaken by the Malay pirates, they range themselves under the banner of some piratical chief noted for his courage and conduct. The native prince of the place where it is prepared, supplies the adventurers with arms, ammunition and opium, and claims as his share of the plunder, the female captives, the cannon, and one third of all the rest of the booty.

In Nov. 1827, a principal chief of pirates, named Sindana, made a descent upon Mamoodgoo with forty-five proas, burnt three-fourths of the campong, driving the rajah with his family among the mountains. Some scores of men were killed, and 300 made prisoners, besides women and children to half that amount. In December following, when I was there, the people were slowly returning from the hills, but had not yet attempted to rebuild the campong, which lay in ashes. During my stay here (ten weeks) the place was visited by two other piratical chiefs, one of which was from Kylie, the other from Mandhaar Point under Bem Bowan, who appeared to have charge of the whole; between them they had 134 proas of all sizes.

Among the most desperate and successful pirates of the present day, Raga is most distinguished. He is dreaded by people of all denominations, and universally known as the "prince of pirates." For more than seventeen years this man has carried on a system of piracy to an extent never before known; his expeditions and enterprizes would fill a large volume. They have invariably been marked with singular cunning and intelligence, barbarity, and reckless inattention to the shedding of human blood. He has emissaries everywhere, and has intelligence of the best description. It was about the year 1813 Raga commenced operations on a large scale. In that year he cut off three English vessels, killing the captains with his own hands. So extensive were his depredations about that time that a proclamation was issued from Batavia, declaring the east coast of Borneo to be under strict blockade. Two British sloops of war

scoured the coast. One of which, the *Elk*, Capt. Reynolds, was attacked during the night by Raga's own proa, who unfortunately was not on board at the time. This proa which Raga personally commanded, and the loss of which he frequently laments, carried eight guns and was full of his best men.

An European vessel was faintly descried about three o'clock one foggy morning; the rain fell in torrents; the time and weather were favorable circumstances for a surprise, and the commander determined to distinguish himself in the absence of the Rajah Raga, gave directions to close, fire the guns and board. He was the more confident of success, as the European vessel was observed to keep away out of the proper course on approaching her. On getting within about an hundred fathoms of the *Elk* they fired their broadside, gave a loud shout, and with their long oars pulled towards their prey. The sound of a drum beating to quarters no sooner struck the ear of the astonished Malays than they endeavoured to get away: it was too late; the ports were opened, and a broadside, accompanied with three British cheers, gave sure indications of their fate. The captain hailed the *Elk*, and would fain persuade him it was a mistake. It was indeed a mistake, and one not to be rectified by the Malayan explanation. The proa was sunk by repeated broadsides, and the commanding officer refused to pick up any of the people, who, with the exception of five, were drowned; these, after floating four days on some spars, were picked up by a Pergottan proa, and told the story to Raga, who swore anew destruction to every European he should henceforth take.

This desperado has for upwards of seventeen years been the terror of the Straits of Macassar, during which period he has committed the most extensive and dreadful excesses sparing no one. Few respectable families along the coast of Borneo and Celebes but have to complain of the loss of a proa, or of some number of their race; he is not more universally dreaded than detested; it is well known that he has cut off and murdered the crews of more than forty European vessels, which have either been wrecked on the coasts, or entrusted themselves in native ports. It is his boast that twenty of the commanders have fallen by his hands. The western coast of Celebes, for about 250 miles, is absolutely lined with proas belonging principally to three considerable rajahs, who act in conjunction with Raga and other pirates. Their proas may be seen in clusters of from 50, 80, and 100 (at Sediano I counted 147 laying on the sand at high water mark in parallel rows,) and kept in a horizontal position by poles, completely ready for the sea. Immediately behind them are the campongs, in which are the crews; here likewise are kept the sails, gun-powder, &c. necessary for their equipment. On the very summits of the mountains, which in many parts rise abruptly from the sea, may be distinguished innumerable huts; here reside people who are constantly on the look-out. A vessel within ten miles of the shore will not probably perceive a single proa, yet in less than two hours, if the tide be high, she may be surrounded by some hundreds. Should the water be low they will push off during the night. Signals are made from mountain to mountain along the coast with the

utmost rapidity; during the day time by flags attached to long bamboos; at night, by fires. Each chief sends forth his proas, the crews of which, in hazardous cases, are infuriated with opium, when they will most assuredly take the vessel if she be not better provided than most merchantmen.

Mr. Dalton, who went to the Pergottan river in 1830, says, "whilst I remained here, there were 71 proas of considerable sizes, 39 of which were professed pirates. They were anchored off the point of a small promontory, on which the rajah has an establishment and bazaar. The largest of these proas belonged to Raga, who received by the fleet of proas, in which I came, his regular supplies of arms and ammunition from Singapore. Here nestle the principal pirates, and Raga holds his head quarters; his grand depot was a few miles farther up. Rajah Agi Bota himself generally resides some distance up a small river which runs eastward of the point; near his habitation stands the principal bazaar, which would be a great curiosity for an European to visit if he could only manage to return, which very few have. The Rajah gave me a pressing invitation to spend a couple of days at his country house, but all the Bugis' nacodahs strongly dissuaded me from such an attempt. I soon discovered the cause of their apprehension; they were jealous of Agi Botta, well knowing he would plunder me, and considered every article taken by him was so much lost to the Sultan of Coti, who naturally would expect the people to reserve me for his own particular plucking. When the fact was known of an European having arrived in the Pergottan river, this amiable

prince and friend of Europeans, impatient to seize his prey, came immediately to the point from his country house, and sending for the nacodah of the proa, ordered him to land me and all my goods instantly. An invitation now came for me to go on shore and amuse myself with shooting, and look at some rare birds of beautiful plumage which the rajah would give me if I would accept of them; but knowing what were his intentions, and being well aware that I should be supported by all the Bugis' proas from Coti, I feigned sickness, and requested that the birds might be sent on board. Upon this Agi Bota, who could no longer restrain himself, sent off two boats of armed men, who robbed me of many articles, and would certainly have forced me on shore, or murdered me in the proa had not a signal been made to the Bugis' nacodahs, who immediately came with their people, and with spears and krisses, drove the rajah's people overboard. The nacodahs, nine in number, now went on shore, when a scene of contention took place showing clearly the character of this chief. The Bugis from Coti explained, that with regard to me it was necessary to be particularly circumspect, as I was not only well known at Singapore, but the authorities in that settlement knew that I was on board the Sultan's proa, and they themselves were responsible for my safety. To this circumstance alone I owe my life on several occasions, as in the event of any thing happening to me, every nacodah was apprehensive of his proa being seized on his return to Singapore; I was therefore more peculiarly cared for by this class of men, and they are powerful. The Rajah answered the naco-

dahs by saying, I might be disposed of as many others had been, and no further notice taken of the circumstance; he himself would write to Singapore that I had been taken by an alligator, or bitten by a snake whilst out shooting; and as for what property I might have in the proa he would divide it with the Sultan of Coti. The Bugis, however, refused to listen to any terms, knowing the Sultan of Coti would call him to an account for the property, and the authorities of Singapore for my life. Our proa, with others, therefore dropped about four miles down the river, where we took in fresh water. Here we remained six days, every argument being in vain to entice me on shore. At length the Bugis' nacodahs came to the determination to sail without passes, which brought the rajah to terms. The proas returned to the point, and I was given to understand I might go on shore in safety. I did so, and was introduced to the Rajah whom I found under a shed, with about 150 of his people; they were busy gambling, and had the appearance of what they really are, a ferocious set of banditti. Agi Bota is a good looking man, about forty years of age, of no education whatever; he divides his time between gaming, opium and cockfighting; that is in the interval of his more serious and profitable employment, piracy and rapine. He asked me to produce what money I had about me; on seeing only ten rupees, he remarked that it was not worth while to win so small a sum, but that if I would fight cocks with him he would lend me as much money as I wanted, and added it was beneath his dignity to fight under fifty reals a battle. On my saying it was contrary to an Englishman's re-

ligion to bet wagers, he dismissed me; immediately after the two rajahs produced their cocks and commenced fighting for one rupee a side. I was now obliged to give the old Baudarre five rupees to take some care of me, as whilst walking about, the people not only thrust their hands into my pockets, but pulled the buttons from my clothes. Whilst sauntering behind the rajah's campong I caught sight of an European woman, who on perceiving herself observed, instantly ran into one of the houses, no doubt dreading the consequences of being recognized. There are now in the house of Agi Bota two European women; up the country there are others, besides several men. The Bugis, inimical to the rajah, made no secret of the fact; I had heard of it on board the proa, and some person in the bazaar confirmed the statement. On my arrival, strict orders had been given to the inhabitants to put all European articles out of sight. One of my servants going into the bazaar, brought me such accounts as induced me to visit it. In one house were the following articles: four Bibles, one in English, one in Dutch, and two in the Portuguese languages; many articles of wearing apparel, such as jackets and trowsers, with the buttons altered to suit the natives; pieces of shirts tagged to other parts of dress; several broken instruments, such as quadrants, spy glasses (two,) binnacles, with pieces of ship's sails, bolts and hoops; a considerable variety of gunner's and carpenter's tools, stores, &c. In another shop were two pelisses of faded lilac colours; these were of modern cut and fashionably made. On enquiring how they became possessed of these articles, I was

told they were some wrecks of European vessels on which no people were found, whilst others made no scruples of averring that they were formerly the property of people who had died in the country. All the goods in the bazaar belonged to the rajah, and were sold on his account; large quantities were said to be in his house up the river; but on all hands it was admitted Raga and his followers had by far the largest part of what was taken. A Mandoor, or head of one of the campongs, showed me some women's stockings, several of which were marked with the letters S. W.; also two chemises, one with the letters S. W.; two flannel petticoats, a miniature portrait frame (the picture was in the rajah's house,) with many articles of dress of both sexes. In consequence of the strict orders given on the subject I could see no more; indeed there were both difficulty and danger attending these inquiries. I particularly wanted to obtain the miniature picture, and offered the Mandoor fifty rupees if he could procure it; he laughed at me, and pointing significantly to his kris, drew one hand across my throat, and then across his own, giving me to understand such would be the result to us both on such an application to the rajah. It is the universal custom of the pirates, on this coast, to sell the people for slaves immediately on their arrival, the rajah taking for himself a few of the most useful, and receiving a percentage upon the purchase money of the remainder, with a moiety of the vessel and every article on board. European vessels are taken up the river, where they are immediately broken up. The situation of European prisoners is indeed dreadful in a climate like this, where

even the labor of natives is intolerable; they are compelled to bear all the drudgery, and allowed a bare sufficiency of rice and salt to eat.

It is utterly impossible for Europeans who have seen these pirates at such places as Singapore and Batavia, to form any conception of their true character. There they are under immediate control, and every part of their behaviour is a tissue of falsehood and deception. They constantly carry about with them a smooth tongue, cringing demeanor, a complying disposition, which always asserts, and never contradicts; a countenance which appears to anticipate the very wish of the Europeans, and which so generally imposes upon his understanding, that he at once concludes them to be the best and gentlest of human beings; but let the European meet them in any of their own campongs, and a very different character they will appear. The character and treacherous proceeding narrated above, and the manner of cutting off vessels and butchering their crews, apply equally to all the pirates of the East India Islands, by which many hundred European and American vessels have been surprised and their crews butchered.

THE ZEPHYR—AARON SMITH'S STORY

[From "Daring Deeds of Famous Pirates," by E.
KEBLE CHATTERTON]

IF the expression had not been used already so many thousand times, one might well say of the following story that truth is indeed stranger than fiction. Had you read the yarn which is here to be related you would, at its conclusion, have remarked that it was certainly most interesting and exciting, but it was too exaggerated, too full of coincidences, too full of narrow escapes ever to have occurred in real life. But I would assure the reader at the outset that Smith's experiences were actual and not fictional, and that his story was carefully examined at the time by the High Court of Admiralty. The prelude, the climax and the conclusion of this drama with its exciting incidents, its love interest and its happy ending; the romantic atmosphere, the picturesque characters, the colours and the symmetry of the narrative are so much in accord with certain models such as one used to read in mere story-books of one's boyhood, that it is well the reader should be fully assured that what is here set forth did in very truth happen. In some respects the narrative reads like pages from one of Robert Louis Stevenson's novels, and yet though I have, by the limits of the space at my disposal, been

compelled to omit many of the incidents which centred around Smith and his pirate associates, yet the facts which are set forth have been taken from contemporary data and can be relied upon implicitly.

The story opens in the year 1821, and the hero is an English seaman named Aaron Smith. In the month of June, Smith departed from England and embarked on the merchant ship *Harrington*, which carried him safely over the Atlantic to the West Indies. Subsequent events induced him to resign his billet on that vessel, and as he found that the West Indian climate was impairing his health, he made arrangements to get back home to England. Being then at Kingston in the island of Jamaica, he interviewed the captain of the British merchant ship *Zephyr* and was appointed first mate. The *Zephyr*, like many of the ships of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, was rigged as a brig, that is to say with square sails on each of her two masts, with triangular headsails and a quadrilateral sail abaft the second mast much like the mainsail of a cutter-rigged craft. Brigs nowadays are practically obsolete, but at the time we are speaking of they were immensely popular in the merchant service and for carrying coals from Newcastle-on-Tyne to London.

The *Zephyr*, after taking on board her West Indian cargo together with a few passengers, weighed anchor in the month of June 1822—just a year after Smith had left Europe—and set sail for England. From the very first Smith saw that things were not quite as they should be. The pilot who took the ship out into the open sea was a very incapable man, but

his duties were soon ended and he left the ship. The name of the *Zephyr's* captain was Lumsden, and even he was far from being the capable mariner which one would have expected in a man whose duty it was to take a ship across the broad Atlantic. Presently, before they had left Kingston far astern, a strong breeze sprang up from the north-east, and a heavy easterly swell got up, which made the brig somewhat lively. Most people are aware that the navigation among the islands and in the tricky channels of the West Indies needs both great care and much knowledge, such as ought to have been possessed by a man in Lumsden's position. Judge of Smith's surprise, therefore, when the latter found his captain asking his advice as to which passage he ought to take.

Whatever else Smith had in his character, he was certainly extremely shrewd and cautious, and he replied in a non-committal answer to the effect that the "windward" passage might prolong the voyage but that the "leeward" one would expose the ship to the risk of being plundered by the pirates, which in those days were far from rare. Lumsden weighed the pros and cons in his mind, and at last resolved to choose the "leeward" passage. About two o'clock one afternoon Smith was pacing up and down deck when he suddenly espied a schooner of a very suspicious appearance standing out from the land. Not quite happy as to her character, he then went aloft with his telescope and examined her closely. In the case of a man of his sea experience it did not take long for him to realise that the schooner was a pirate-ship. Lumsden was below at the time, so Smith called him

on deck and, pointing out the strange vessel, suggested to the captain that it would be best to alter the brig's course to avoid her. But Lumsden, like most ignorant men, was exceedingly obstinate, and stoutly declined the proffered advice. With characteristic British sentiment he opined that "because he bore the English flag no one would dare to molest him." The skipper of the schooner, as we shall presently see, did not think of the matter in that way.

Half an hour passed by, the brig held on her original course, and the two ships drawing closer together it was observed that the schooner's deck was full of men. Clearly, too, she was about to hoist out her boats. This gave cause for alarm even in the stubborn breast of Lumsden, and now he gave orders for the course to be altered a couple of points. But the decision had been arrived at too leisurely, for the stranger was already within gun-shot. Before much time had sped on, the sound of voices was heard from the schooner, and short, sharp orders came across the heaving sea, ordering the *Zephyr* to lower her stern boat and to send the captain aboard the schooner. Lumsden pretended not to understand, but a brisk volley of musketry from the stranger instantly quickened the skipper's comprehension, and he promptly gave orders to lay the mainyard aback and heave-to.

The boat which had been lowered from the schooner was quickly rowed alongside the brig, and nine or ten men, ferocious of appearance and well-armed with knives, cutlasses and muskets, now leapt aboard. It was obvious before they had left the schooner's deck that these were desperate pirates, such

as had many a dark, cruel deed to their consciences. With no wasting of formality they at once took charge of the brig and ordered Lumsden, Smith, the ship's carpenter, and also a Captain Cowper who was travelling as a passenger, to proceed on board the schooner without delay. In order to hurry them on, the pirates gave them repeated blows over the back from the flat part of their cutlasses, accompanying these strokes with threats of shooting them. So the company got into the schooner's boat and were rowed off; Lumsden recollected having left on the cabin table of the *Zephyr* the ship's books containing an account of all the money aboard the brig.

Arrived alongside the schooner, the prisoners were ordered on deck. It was the pirate captain who now issued the commands, a man of repulsive appearance with his savage expression, his short, stout stature. His age was not more than about thirty-two, his appearance denoted that in his veins ran Indian blood. Standing not more than five and a half feet high, he had an aquiline nose, high cheek bones, a large mouth, big full eyes, sallow complexion and black hair. The son of a Spanish father, and a Yucatan squaw, there was nothing in him that suggested anything but the downright brigand of the sea.

But with all this savage temperament there was nothing in him of the fool, and his wits and eyes were ever on the alert. Already he had observed a cluster of vessels in the distance, and he questioned Lumsden as to what kind of craft they might be. On being informed that probably they were French merchantmen, the pirate captain gave orders for all hands to get

the schooner ready to give chase. Meanwhile the *Zephyr*, with part of the pirate crew on board, made sail and stood in towards the land in the direction of Cape Roman, some eighteen miles away. And as the schooner pushed on, cleaving her way through the warm sea, the pirate applied himself to questioning the skipper of the brig. What was his cargo? Lumsden answered that it consisted of sugars, rum, coffee, arrow-root, and so on. But what money had he on board? Lumsden replied that there was no money. Such an answer only infuriated the pirate. "Don't imagine I'm a fool, sir," he roared at him. "I know that all vessels going to Europe have specie on board, and"—he added—"if you will give up what you have, you shall proceed on your voyage without further molestation." But Lumsden still continued in his protestations that money there was none: to which the pirate remarked that if the money were not forthcoming he would throw the *Zephyr's* cargo overboard.

Night was rapidly approaching, and the breeze was certainly dying down, so that although the schooner had done fairly well through the water, yet the pirate despaired of ever coming up with the Frenchmen. Disappointed at his lack of success, he was compelled to abandon the chase, and altered his course to stand in the direction of the *Zephyr*. When night had fallen the pirates began to prepare supper, and offered spirits to their captives, which the latter declined. The pirate captain now turned his attention to Smith, and observed that as he was in bad health, and none of the schooner's crew understood navigation, it was his intention to detain Smith to navigate her. We

need not attempt to suggest the feelings of dismay with which Smith received this information. To resist forceably was obviously out of the question, though he did his best to be allowed to forego the doubtful honour of being appointed navigating officer to a pirate-ship. Lumsden, too, uneasy at the thought of being bereft of a man indispensable to the safety of his brig, expressed a nervous hope that Smith might not be detained. But the pirate's reply to the last request came prompt and plain. "If I do not keep him," he growled at Lumsden, "I shall keep you." That sufficiently alarmed the brig's master to subdue him to silence.

✓The captives sat down to supper with their pirate captain and the latter's six officers. The meal consisted of garlic and onions chopped up into fine pieces and mixed with bread in a bowl. From this every one helped himself as he pleased with his fingers, and the coarse manners of the schooner's company were in keeping with the brutality of their profession. A breeze had sprung up in the meanwhile and they began fast to approach the *Zephyr*. When at length the two vessels were within a short distance, the pirate ordered a musket to be fired and then proceeded to tack shorewards. This signal was answered immediately by the pirates on board the brig, and the *Zephyr* then proceeded to follow the schooner. One of the brig's crew who had been brought aboard the schooner at the time when Lumsden and Smith were taken, was now ordered to heave the lead and to give warning as soon as the schooner got into soundings. It is significant that whatever else these pirates may

have been, they were brigands first and sailormen only a bad second, who had taken to roving less through nautical enthusiasm than from a greed for gain and a means of indulging their savage tastes. Thus, although on waylaying a merchant ship their first object was to pillage, yet they made it also their aim to carry off any useful members of the trader's crew who were expert in the arts of seamanship or navigation.

As soon as the leadsman, then, found bottom at fourteen fathoms, the pirate commanded a boat to be lowered and therein was placed Lumsden and some of the crew which had belonged to the *Zephyr*. Smith, however, and with him the brig's carpenter, were detained on the schooner. The pirate captain himself accompanied Lumsden, left the latter on board the brig and brought back the crew of the pirate, who in the first instance had been left to take charge of the *Zephyr*. They also brought away to the schooner a number of articles, including Cowper's watch, the brig's spy-glass, Smith's own telescope, some clothes belonging to the latter, and a goat. To show what kind of cruel rascals Smith had now become shipmate with may be seen from the fact that as soon as the animal had been brought aboard, one of the pirate's crew instantly cut the goat's throat with his knife, flayed the poor creature alive, and promised the same kind of treatment to his friends if no money were found in the *Zephyr*. Even the most stalwart British sailor could not help his heart beating the more rapidly at such cowardly and bullying treatment.

By now the schooner had stood so near to the shore that she was in four fathoms and the anchor was let

go. The *Zephyr* also let go and brought up about fifty yards away. Relieved from work, the pirates now began to exult and to congratulate each other on their fine capture. Night came on again and a watch was set. Smith and Cowper, still in the schooner, were ordered to sleep in the companionway, but with the fearful anxiety imminent and the possibility of never being allowed to wake again, they never relapsed into unconsciousness. Conversation was kept up stealthily between them, and Cowper, knowing that the *Zephyr* carried a quantity of specie and that Lumsden had hoodwinked the pirate captain, dreaded lest this should be found out. With the certain assurance in his mind of being put to death, a horrible night of suspense and fear was passed by the two seamen.

When daylight came, some of the pirates were seen on the brig's deck beating the *Zephyr's* crew with their cutlasses. Great activity of a most business-like nature was being manifested on the English ship, boats were being hoisted out, a rope cable—those were still the days of hemp—was being coiled on deck, the hatches were being removed and all was being made ready for taking out the *Zephyr's* cargo. The pirate commanded Smith to go aboard the brig and fetch everything that might be essential for the purposes of navigation, for the former was most determined to retain the former mate of the English merchantman. To accentuate his determination the half-caste brute raised his arm into the air and, brandishing a cutlass over poor Smith's head, threatened him with instant death if he showed any reluctance. "Mind and you obey me," he taunted, "or I will take off your skin."

We need not stop to depict Smith's feelings, nor to suggest with what dismay he found himself compelled to obey the behests of a coarse, ignorant freebooter. It was humiliating to the last degree for a man who had been mate and served under the red ensign thus to have to submit to such abominable treatment. But there was no choice between submission and death, though from what eventually followed it was obvious that Smith was not a coward and was not so proud of his skin as to fear death. He proceeded aboard the brig, discovered that she had been well ransacked and with a heavy heart began to collect his belongings. He brought off his gold watch and sextant, packed his clothes and then returned to the schooner. But before doing so he acted as a man about to pass out of the world and anxious to dispose of his remaining effects. With almost humorous pathos, one might remark, he set about this last duty. "My books, parrot and various other articles I gave in charge to Mr. Lumsden, who engaged to deliver them safely into the hands of my friends, should he reach England;" and it needs no very gifted imagination to see the sentimental sailor of the great sailing-ship age painfully taking a last look at these cherished possessions.

The cargo having been transferred to the schooner, the pirates indulged themselves in liquor and became intoxicated. But meanwhile the crew of the brig were not allowed to stand idle. The pirate captain was going to get all that he could from his capture, and ordered the *Zephyr's* fore t'gallant mast and yard to be sent down, and these, together with whatever other

spars might seem useful, were to be sent on board the schooner. The merchant ship was positively gutted of everything the pirates fancied. There was not left even so much as a bed or a blanket: even the ear-rings on the ears of the children passengers were snatched from the latter. In addition to this the whole of the live stock such as an ocean-going ship carried in those days prior to the invention of the refrigerating rooms and tinned food was transferred to the schooner and a certain amount of drinking water.

But the pirates had not yet concluded their dastardly work. Lumsden and Cowper were warned that unless they produced the money, which the pirate was convinced still remained, the *Zephyr*, with all her people in her, should be burnt to the water's edge. It is to the credit of these two men that they strenuously declined to oblige the pirate. This only served as fuel to the latter's temper, and he sent them below and began a series of heartless tortures which were more in keeping with some of the worst features of the Middle Ages than the nineteenth century. Determined to attain his object, no matter what the cost, he caused the two men to be locked to the ship's pumps and proceeded to carry out the threat which he had just promised. Every preparation was made for starting a fire, combustibles were piled round about the unfortunate men, and the light was just about to be applied when Lumsden, unable to endure the torture any longer, confessed that there was money. He was accordingly released, and rummaging about produced a small box of doubloons.

This, however, far from satisfying the pirate's

thirst, merely increased his desire for more. Lumsden protested that that was all. So again the skipper was lashed to the pumps, again fire was ordered to be put to the fuel, and again the victim was about to be immolated. Once more, at the last minute, Lumsden yielded and offered to surrender all that he had. Thereupon, for the second time he was released, and producing nine more doubloons declared that this money had been entrusted to his care on behalf of a poor woman. Such human sentiments, however, rarely fell on more unsympathetic ears. "Don't speak to me of poor people," howled the pirate. "I am poor, and your countrymen and the Americans have made me so. I know there is more money, and I will either have it or burn you and the vessel."

Following up his threat with deeds, he once more ordered Lumsden below, yet again had the combustibles laid around. But the Englishman stood his torture well: his being was becoming accustomed to the treatment and for a while he never flinched. Then the monsters of iniquity applied a light to the fire, and the red and yellow flames leapt forward and already began to lick the skipper's body. For a time he endured the grievous pain as the fire burnt into his flesh. With agonising cries and heart-rending shouts he begged to be relieved of his tortures—to be cut adrift in a boat and left solitary on the wide open ocean—anything rather than this. Money he had not: already he had given up all that he possessed. And after this slow murder had continued for some time the stubborn dulled intellect of the pirate captain began to work, and seeing that not even fire could call

forth more money from a suffering man, he was inclined to believe that the last coin had now been yielded up. Then turning to some of his own crew, he ordered them to throw water on to the flames, and the long-suffering Lumsden, more dead than alive, racked by physical and mental tortures, was released and allowed to regain his freedom. As if to accentuate their own bestial natures the pirates then proceeded to carouse once more and to exult again in their ill-gotten treasures.

But even in the most villainous criminal there is always at least one small trait of human nature left, and it is often surprising how this manifests itself when circumstances had seemed to deny its very existence. It was so in the case of this pirate captain. Everything so far had indicated the most unmitigated bully and murderer without one single redeeming feature of any sort whatever. And yet, in spite of all the vain entreaties of Lumsden for mercy, the pirate showed that the last spark of human kindness was not yet quenched. The reader will remember that among the articles which Smith had brought away from the brig was his gold watch. The pirate took this in his hands, examined it, and instead of promptly annexing the same, threw out a strong hint that he would like to retain it. Such moderation from one who had not hesitated to burn a man at the stake was in itself curious. But his inconsistency did not stop at that. Smith remarked that the watch was a gift from his aged mother, whom he now never expected to see again, adding that he would like to be allowed to send it to her by Lumsden, but was afraid that the pirates

would take it away from the English captain if it were entrusted to him. It was then that the pirate manifested the extraordinary contradiction which his character possessed. "Your people," he began, "have a very bad opinion of us, but I will convince you that we are not so bad as we are represented to be; come along with me, and your watch shall go safely home." And with this he took Smith on board the *Zephyr* once more, handed the watch into Lumsden's keeping and gave strict orders that on no account was any one to take it away from the English captain.

Smith now took a final farewell of his old messmates, but lest he should take advantage of the indulgence which had been just granted him, the pirate captain instantly ordered him back to the schooner, and even impelled him forward at the point of his murderous knife. All this time the two ships had been lying alongside lashed together by warps. Being at last content with the ample cargo which he had extracted from the *Zephyr*, and being convinced that there was nothing else aboard of much value, the pirate now ordered the warps to be cast loose and informed Lumsden that he might consider himself free to resume his voyage. But, he insisted, on no account was he to steer for Havannah. Should he do so, the schooner would pursue him, and on being overtaken Lumsden and his ship should be destroyed without further consideration.

So at last the brig *Zephyr*, robbed of most of her valuables, lacking some of her gear and minus her mate, and with a tortured skipper, hove up her anchor, let loose her canvas and cleared out into the open sea.

THE LAST OF THE PIRATES

[From "The Wild Coast of Nippon," by Capt. H.
C. ST. JOHN, R. N.]

IN 1875 an English brigantine bound for the northward had been attacked about 100 miles from Hong-Kong; the captain and a boy were killed, but the rest of the crew, having taken to the top, and remained there while the pirates ransacked the vessel, were otherwise unmolested. As soon as the coast was clear, they descended from their airy refuge, and in a day or two brought the vessel safely back to port. Whilst we were coaling to go in search of these rascals, another case occurred, information being brought that a large fishing-junk belonging to Hong-Kong, with the owner and his family on board, had been boarded by pirates when fishing just outside the island, and his three daughters carried off for ransom. The owner himself had been launched adrift in a sampan, and directed by his considerate countrymen to collect 500 dollars as the price of his daughters' release; if not paid in a short time, the girls would be, never more, of any trouble to him or any one else. The senior officer had arrived while I was still in port, and being entirely ignorant of all matters concerned with piracy, he very much doubted my being able to do any good in searching for the culprits in either of the two cases, and especially in the release of the damsels. In

answer to his doubts, I said, in the latter case I should probably succeed, but not in the first, the time elapsed being too long. Towards dusk I left, so as to reach a cluster of islands called Tooni-ang, thirty miles east of Hong-Kong, and a very favourite rendezvous for pirates, towards daylight. In the channel between the islands were coves and nooks where junks could stow away very snugly, and the approach being open at either end, they could easily slip away on danger appearing from any direction. I reached the spot before the sun had thought of throwing light over the high peak of the largest island. Gradually, however, the morning grey cool feel of the approaching day stole over the scene, and as it did I kept quietly creeping in, until I reached the very centre of the passage.

Presently, close under the rocks, a junk was seen, moving cautiously in the shadow of the cliffs towards the further entrance. Early as I was, they were equally on the *qui vive*, and the whole crew managed to escape to the shore before I caught the junk. This proved to be the very pirate craft which had captured the girls; so far so good, I thought. Now, to trace these unhappy fair ones. A deep bay lay immediately abreast of Tooni-ang, at the head of which, and faced by shoal water and a long flat island, a town with about a thousand inhabitants lay almost entirely concealed by a prominent woody point, and the island mentioned. I knew this to be a den of thieves, and from what the father of the girls had gathered, and otherwise conjectured during his interview with the pirates, it appeared more than probable that to this

place the prisoners had been taken. When passing a cove, a junk hove in sight, inshore, and on my bearing down for her, was run on shore, and a dozen men or so skedaddled and made off into the bushes as hard as they could. This was my friend the fisherman's own craft; he nearly stood on his head with joy. I don't believe he thought half as much of his girls as his junk. The one cost money, the other made it, I suppose he might have said. She was easily rescued from her sandy bed and taken in tow. The guns (all fishing-junks used to be well armed) had been taken out of her, but with a little searching they were found buried in the sand close to. Without further incidents I reached the head of the bay, anchored off the village, and at once demanded the three girls. This request, however, was met with blank looks of astonishment, and professions of utter ignorance regarding them. "The three headmen of the village must then return with me to the gun-boat," I said. These worthies made all the delay, excuses, and difficulties they could, but ultimately appeared robed in silk, accompanied by a couple of blue-jackets, who escorted them to the boat, and then on board. This sort of proceeding was more native police work than an English man-of-war's; but if such ideas had been stuck to, and I had simply confined myself to the open sea, and to my bare orders, which were to that effect, the gun-boat might just as well have been returned into store, for all the good towards the suppression of piracy that she could have done; and many scores more lives would have been lost, and vessels taken, than was actually the case.

I now made great preparations to hang these three silk-robed gentlemen, passing a rope from each mast-head, arranging the most elaborate knots, and so on, taking care that they should see and understand what was going on. Their expressions were curious to watch; one, in particular, tried to treat it as a good joke, but with the most evident inward uncertainty. The other two appeared stolid, but very grave. All now being ready, one was taken to each mast, and the rope passed carefully over their heads. The effect of the ominous-looking noose touching their skin was as if their faculties had received an electric shock. They suddenly remembered "the girls were there; I should have them at once if only I would spare their lives." The gentleman that laughed at the preparations was so overcome by the excess of his feelings that he fainted, but came to in a few moments on a little salt water being judiciously applied. Directions were sent to their subordinates in the village, and in a very short time the girls appeared on the beach, escorted by a crowd of men and women: the three rascals were quickly exchanged for the kidnapped fair ones, who were fed with tea and jam, and wrapped up in a sail for the night, and I started on my return to Hong-Kong. It would have been a good lesson, and certainly not an undeserved one, if these celestials had been hanged instead of only frightened. There was no doubt, however, that they firmly believed their last hour had come, otherwise they would never had disclosed their guilt.

For a couple of months I was employed entirely on the coast east of Hong-Kong, during which time we

took a number of junks, some prisoners, and released others kept to ransom. The coast between Macao and Hainan I purposely left alone.

The China New Year was approaching (February), a great time with all Chinamen—a general holiday—a feast time—a time that business is thrown aside, and revelry and dissipation are alone thought of. Even the pirates cannot resist the temptation of general laxity, and as a rule return to some rendezvous or stronghold for at least three days. Another custom, and a very good one, connected with their New Year is, that every Chinaman pays his debts; it is a point of honour with them to do so; an item in the general routine of a Chinaman's life we might well imitate. Relying on this general slackness, I had decided to cruise down the west coast during their holiday-time, hoping to make a good bag. The day before the commencement of their New Year, 1876, I visited some Chinese merchants, and talked over the state of trade, piracy, etc., but none had any news such as I wanted. As I was in the act of getting under weigh, one of these same men came quietly on board, and in a mysterious manner whispered—"Better look see Puck-shui."

"The very place I am going to," I answered.

An hour before, when surrounded by his fellow-merchants, he knew nothing; evidently there was no safety in numbers to his mind.

Next morning at daybreak I was on my ground. Two islands with a shallow passage between them, and an entrance at either end, situated about midway between the mainland and the outer line of islands,

formed a remarkably good and safe retreat for lawless characters. As I rounded the point, and opened the channel and anchorage, no less than fifteen junks appeared, drawn up in line so as to cover the centre of the channel with their guns. Knowing the place well, I went full speed through the soft mud on the north side, and by doing so kept all the junks end on instead of broadside, as they would have been if I had taken the mid-channel course they expected. With our guns out, and loaded, the little gun-boat rushed into the middle of them. This was too much for their nerves, however well they may have been strung up before; they entirely gave way at such close quarters, and without a shot being fired on either side, overboard they went, and made a hasty and undignified retreat on shore. I now anchored. They then manned the guns in their battery, situated immediately abreast of the gun-boat, and in front of the town. Before, however, they fired, I sent a big shot in their direction, which cleared them out.

As we had steamed in, we passed a large salt junk, whose crew appeared dancing about the deck like lunatics. They were certainly in the wildest state of joy at being released from captivity. They mustered twenty-seven in all, and were soon well on their way to Hong-Kong. Little had they expected, an hour before, to get off without paying the heavy ransom demanded.

I decided to take the battery and utterly destroy the place. Taking all my crew except three, not of course counting the Chinese part of it, I landed at a point a little way down, to avoid some swampy

ground abreast their guns. We could also land here under good shelter, and afterwards approach within 200 yards without being seen; this we did, and then had a good look at the formidable array of men drawn up in front of the village. There could not have been less than 300, but there might have been 500. Two or three, who walked up and down in front of the rest, kept opera-glasses steadily at work, and watched us narrowly. Not a woman was to be seen, which looked as if they meant business. I knew our eight-inch gun was keenly alive to our movements, and ready to send forth a very effectual messenger if needed. Forming in single file, we opened into view over a small hillock, and went at them at a steady trot. A minute they stood as if irresolute, then wavered, turned round and ran, as if a whole regiment with fixed bayonets were at their heels; instead of only twenty blue-jackets and marines, which constituted the whole of my force. The only creature we caught was a stray young female, and how she got adrift from the rest of her sex, who were evidently stowed away in the hills, I cannot tell. The battery we simply walked into from behind, and the whole affair was at an end, except the destruction of the village, which was soon accomplished by burning it to the ground. During the time that the preceding events were taking place, a couple of junks had been blown up, and with them three of my men, fortunately they had come down again, damaged considerably, but not altogether expended. The gunner was one; he was three months in the hospital, and then returned to duty, but wonderfully changed for the better in ap-

pearance. A marine was a year ill; the other case was not so serious.

There was, of course, no possibility of bringing the pirates to bay, and nothing was left to be done but to return on board. I was just about ordering the men to fall in, when, on looking down the creek, to my no little astonishment, a whole fleet of junks appeared steering in. The Chinese interpreter immediately pronounced them to be pirates. Pleasant, I thought; why, they will take the gun-boat long before we can get on board. My telescope, however, revealed that they were all the same class of craft, a thing never the case in a fleet of piratical junks; Mandarins I felt sure, from their uniformity and number of flags flying. However, to make things certain, I got quickly down to the boats, and pulled out for the headmost craft, hailing her as I came near as to her friendliness or otherwise. This proved the commander-in-chief's junk, whom I requested to come on board the gun-boat, and returned myself to receive him. I shall never forget the man's face as he reached the deck.

"I am so glad to see you," he said; "twice have I been here, and each time have been beaten off; the pirates were far too strong for me. I should never have come in now if I had not seen a gun-boat in the place."

"What force have you?" I asked.

"I have forty-four junks, each with eight or ten guns on board, and 1600 troops, besides the junks' crews," he replied.

All I thought I did not utter; but telling him to take charge of the junks, the forty-seven guns, and the re-

mains of the town, as I must be off, and also to make what report he liked, I bade him good-bye, and made for Macao as fast as I could. From there I sent my injured men across to Hong-Kong, and started immediately again for the westward. As I left the gallant Mandarin and his war-junks, and before I got clear of the passage between the islands, he had opened fire, but at what I could not see. I heard some time afterwards that the pirates returned directly the gun-boat was out of sight, and drove the warriors from their island, who then retreated as fast as a fair wind would take them.¹

Leaving Macao, and steaming about thirty miles to the west of Puckshui, I turned sharply to the right, and towards the mainland, which was separated from the chain of islands by ten or twelve miles of shallow water, with only here and there a passage across it. The water being invariably muddy, it was very difficult to follow these narrow, deep lines of soundings, and such I found it this time; for after getting something like half-way across towards the coast-line, the gun-boat grounded, and all the pulling we could accumulate on the anchor laid out for the purpose had no effect; fortunately it was very nearly low-water, and

¹ I was much amused when I returned to England, at a penny illustrated newspaper which had been sent to my address, soon after this piratical affair had taken place. Amidst any amount of smoke and fire, men mounted on ardent steeds are represented galloping about in all directions, armed with long spears, shields, and battle-axes,—these are the pirates. Other men, with helmets on, and clothed in complete armour, are closely engagd with these mounted warriors; some are in the act of springing on shore from numerous boats, which are just discernible amidst the fire, smoke, and confusion,—these represent the gallant British tars, the *Opposum's* crew. It must have been a fertile imagination that got all this together, to show what piracy in China was like!

the tide would soon make. The aspect of the heavens suddenly changed from bright sunshine to a mass of heavy and gloomy-looking clouds, the wind rose quickly, and a shower and squall approached from the eastward, and quite shut out the land. The muddy water was soon lashed into excitement with the increasing wind, and looking all round the general impression was gloom and unpleasantness.

At this moment a junk emerged from the heavy rain, and came booming on with her great sails full before the breeze. That it must be the craft that we were after I felt almost certain, and to stop him I was determined. Pitching a big shot across his bows for the purpose had no effect. Another, still nearer, was equally unnoticed. In another minute the big gun would not bear; the junk would have passed, might rake the gun-boat as she lay helplessly in the mud, and go flying away before the half gale with perfect impunity.

"Fire into her" was the order. But, fortunately for the junk, before the trigger was pulled, down came his great sail, and in less than five minutes she had rounded to and anchored close to us. Almost at the same moment the rising tide floated the gun-boat, and, dropping into the deeper water, I went immediately on board the junk, where I found no less than forty-three men. In small parties they were sent to the gun-boat, and secured for the night. Next day we arrived at the nearest Mandarin station, and were by no means sorry to hand junk and crew over to his tender mercies. This was the very craft I was in search of, and, being captured on the eve of depar-

ture, prevented mischief being done during her intended cruise. She was armed and strong enough to take any merchant ship that might be met with during calm weather. The gun-boat looked quite a diminutive affair when alongside of her, and she had eight big guns on board, besides all kinds and descriptions of small arms. After this I was not sorry to return to Hong-Kong for a few days' rest.

This western part of the Quang-tung province, the coast of which I have so often referred to, is to this day a *terra incognita* to Europeans.

The part I chiefly had occasion to visit appeared inhabited by two tribes, the Hacka's and Punti's, who by no means lived at peace with one another,—quite the contrary. They were always fighting or cutting each other's throats on a small scale, as well as by more wholesale operations. I had on one occasion to follow a lorcha and a couple of junks up a sluggish river which ran through this country, and the amount of fighting we passed through was absurd. Neither party molested us in any way, although, if so disposed, they might have made it very disagreeable, the width of the river being only at most sixty yards, and the banks here and there well bushed over. Dead bodies in scores floated down, or were grounded on the banks. The hills on either side of the river were quite decorated with the flags of the contending parties; but it must be understood that these emblems of warfare in a Chinese army, or in a tribal squabble, invariably are almost as plentiful as the men themselves. The three pirate crafts were captured and destroyed.

It was not always plain sailing amongst these is-

lands, which studded the coast for at least 100 miles west of the Canton river; for notwithstanding the numerous good anchorages that existed, it was ticklish work occasionally during the typhoon months, which were nearly half the year, or from June to October.

These disagreeable visitors had always, during this season, to be considered. Luckily, with a good barometer, their approach could generally be foretold by twenty-four hours, and sometimes by double that time. In June 1875, for instance, I knew that a typhoon was brewing up, and in consequence got into a snug anchorage beforehand. The place I was in was perfectly safe; being landlocked on all sides, no swell could even enter, and I knew that the wind alone was what I need think of.

Towards evening it was blowing very hard from the eastward, and still increasing; by midnight the force of the wind during the gusts was simply terrific. I had everything well secured long before it commenced; the boats were lashed and relashed, so that they might be blown to pieces but they could not possibly be entirely taken away. Soon afterwards I went to get some rest and shelter in my cabin, leaving the boatswain in charge on deck. At one in the morning he called me, and reported the gun-boat to be drifting on the rocks, adding—

"I never saw it blow like this before, sir, in the thirty years I have been at sea."

"What are you doing on deck?" I asked.

"Steaming ahead as hard as we can, sir, to ease the anchors and cables, which are veered to the clinch."

"Very well," I replied; "you had better turn the hands up; I shall be on deck in a moment."

On reaching the gangway, I could just see through the thick vapour and driving sea the black rocks about thirty yards astern; and going to the engine-room, I gave orders to go ahead as fast as possible, and again returned to the gun-boat's side, and, holding on, sat down to watch the poor little craft drifting quietly but surely to the angry-looking shore. I knew that, the water being smooth, all hands were perfectly safe, as far as their lives went, and that the only thing that could happen would be the gun-boat's driving against the rocks, and probably knocking a hole in her bottom. It certainly did blow; and I thought if the weather-beaten old boatswain had ever seen much more wind, he would probably have been taken clean off the face of the earth. I had been about half-an-hour thus musing and watching the rocks getting gradually more distinct. I could see the clefts, and almost trace their jagged outline, and was wondering what the result would be, what amount of damage would be done to the gun-boat, and how I should manage to get back to Hong-kong, a hundred and fifty miles off, when suddenly I saw the little vessel was moving up to her anchors. I immediately stopped the engines, and in less than ten minutes from that time it was perfectly calm. Both anchors were at once weighed, and steaming out to the centre of the bay, I let them both go to the westward, veering nearly all my cable out, and keeping steam up ready to move the engines at any moment. The wind had left off at east north-east. In an hour or so a sound like steam being blown

out of a boiler was heard to the westward, and immediately afterwards the gun-boat was struck by a furious gust from that direction, from which quarter it blew for some hours as hard as ever, the barometer all the time going up. The centre was, however, past, and towards noon I was able to get under weigh and proceed on my journey.

The word "Typhoon" is of Chinese derivation, and means "mother of winds,"—a very good and significant designation. Typhoon, cyclone, and hurricane are all synonymous for circular storms or gales of wind, which, in my opinion, have all the same origin, and all the same purpose to fulfill,—the restoration of the atmospheric equilibrium, which has become disturbed. Doubtless electricity has a great deal to answer for in connection with these great atmospheric disturbances, if not wholly and entirely responsible for them. For my own part, I believe typhoons, cyclones, etc., to be *purely* electrical phenomena.

I have mentioned the barometer as being a never-failing guide. I consider it, in fact, the greatest friend a sailor has, though in these days of steam it is not sufficiently considered. A steamer, for instance, cuts across, goes through or passes the storm's course; she is independent of the wind, and, consequently, changes in the weather are less watched and attended to.

I often tried to ascertain how the great fleets of fishing junks, which everywhere along the Chinese coast are found working away diligently at all seasons and in all weathers, knew the approach of a typhoon;

for know it I always felt sure they did, first from the fact that so few are lost during the passage of these storms; and secondly, because I had frequently seen them getting to safe harbours well before the typhoon had commenced.

One answer was always returned to my queries on this point, and no other; and this was, that the water always got thick on the approach of a storm. When anchored at some of the out-of-the-way small ports on the coasts, often full of merchant junks, besides numerous fishing craft and others, the masters or owners of the former, particularly if trading with Hong-Kong or some of the open ports, frequently came on board the gun-boat to ask me, "What that thing makie talkie today?" "that thing" being my barometer, in which they showed the greatest confidence.

As nearly as possible one hundred miles west of Macao is a large island called Chang-chuen in Chinese, and St. John's in English. Several bays run deeply into the land, cutting the island up considerably. A few small villages of the poorest class of fishermen or farmers are here and there found. A very miserable lot of people these villagers are; but as the island is visited by none but pirates, no other class of Chinamen would care to live there. I doubt much if the Government ever knew of this place. It was a very frequent resort of mine when cruising along this wild coast, and many a stroll with my gun have I enjoyed on it, always managing to bag a few partridges, quail, or pigeons. One day, when wandering about in this way, I came upon a large flat slab of stone, almost concealed by grass and herbage. A great rock rose

close to it, and a few bushes and some screw pine plants grew near. Thinking it rather queer-looking and tomb-like, I cleared away the rough grass, and almost the first thing I saw were two words, "Francis Xavier!" Scraping off some more rubbish, the whole inscription came out quite clear. Here, then, was the spot where this great man died. A more out-of-the-way, God-forsaken sort of place to end one's days on could scarcely be found. I asked some Chinese of the half-dozen wretched huts which clustered together a short distance from the spot what they knew about it. "Oh," they said, "one big priest makie die there, a long time since. He come from another country; not Chinaman, but very good man."

My friends the pirates were not always very polite. I knew, of course, they would have relished getting hold of me. Occasionally they managed to convey messages such as, "We'll skin him"; "We'll blow him out of the water," and so on. The latter considerate inclination came so decidedly in April 1866 that I thought they really might mean something, and the Admiral, who happened to be in port, rather reluctantly gave me permission to go out. He was at first anxious I should take two gun-boats, but I knew my only chance of teaching them a lesson was to go alone. Puckshui, which I had previously burnt to the ground, was the spot these bits of pleasantries came from, and the following morning, as usual, at daylight I arrived there. The place had been entirely rebuilt. My three guns were loaded and run out on one side, and steaming in I anchored abreast the battery. But not a movement of course was made. Seven or eight long

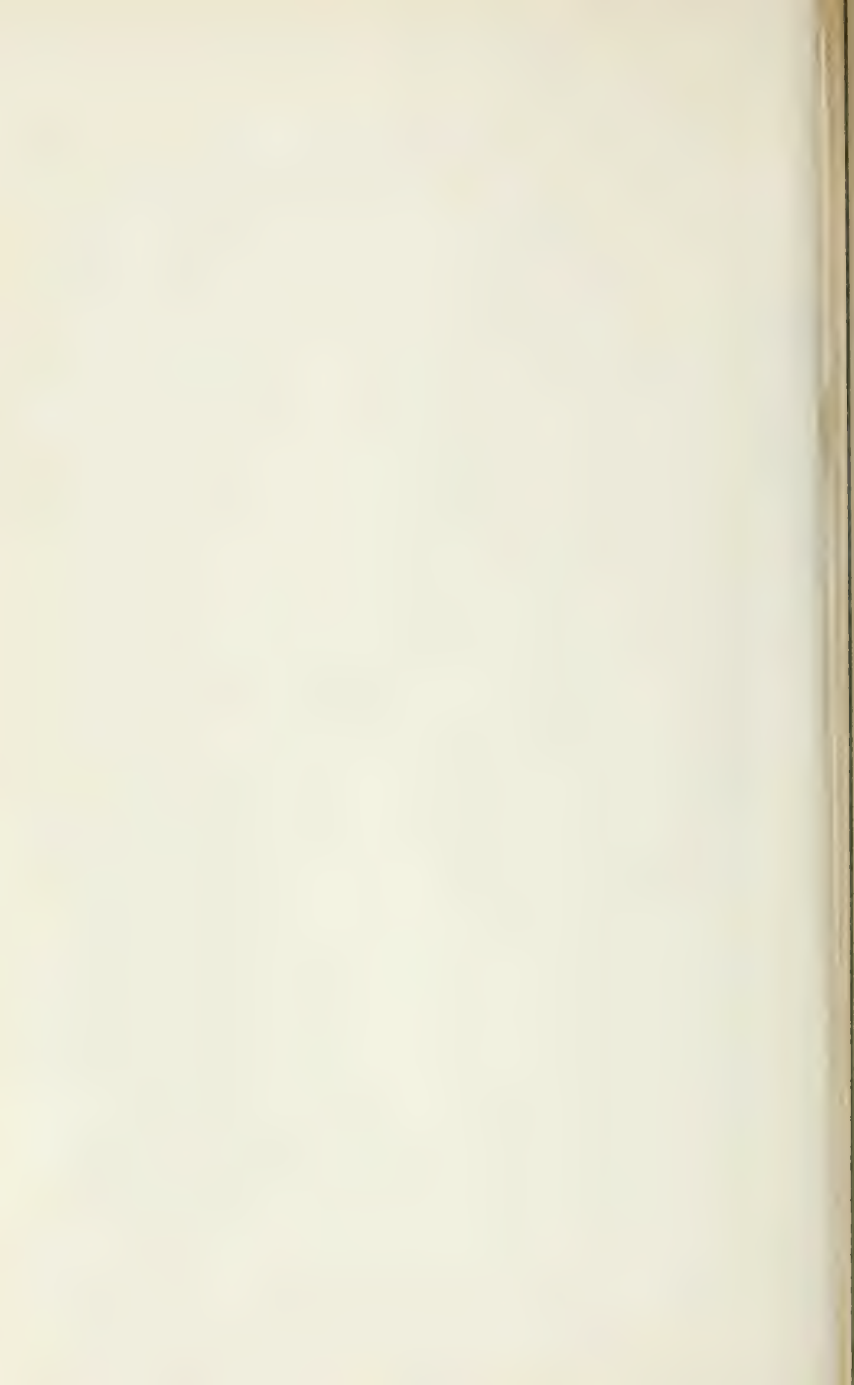
snake-boats were drawn up in a side creek; these I destroyed, and landing with four men, the inhabitants took to their heels, and once more I burnt the place to the ground.

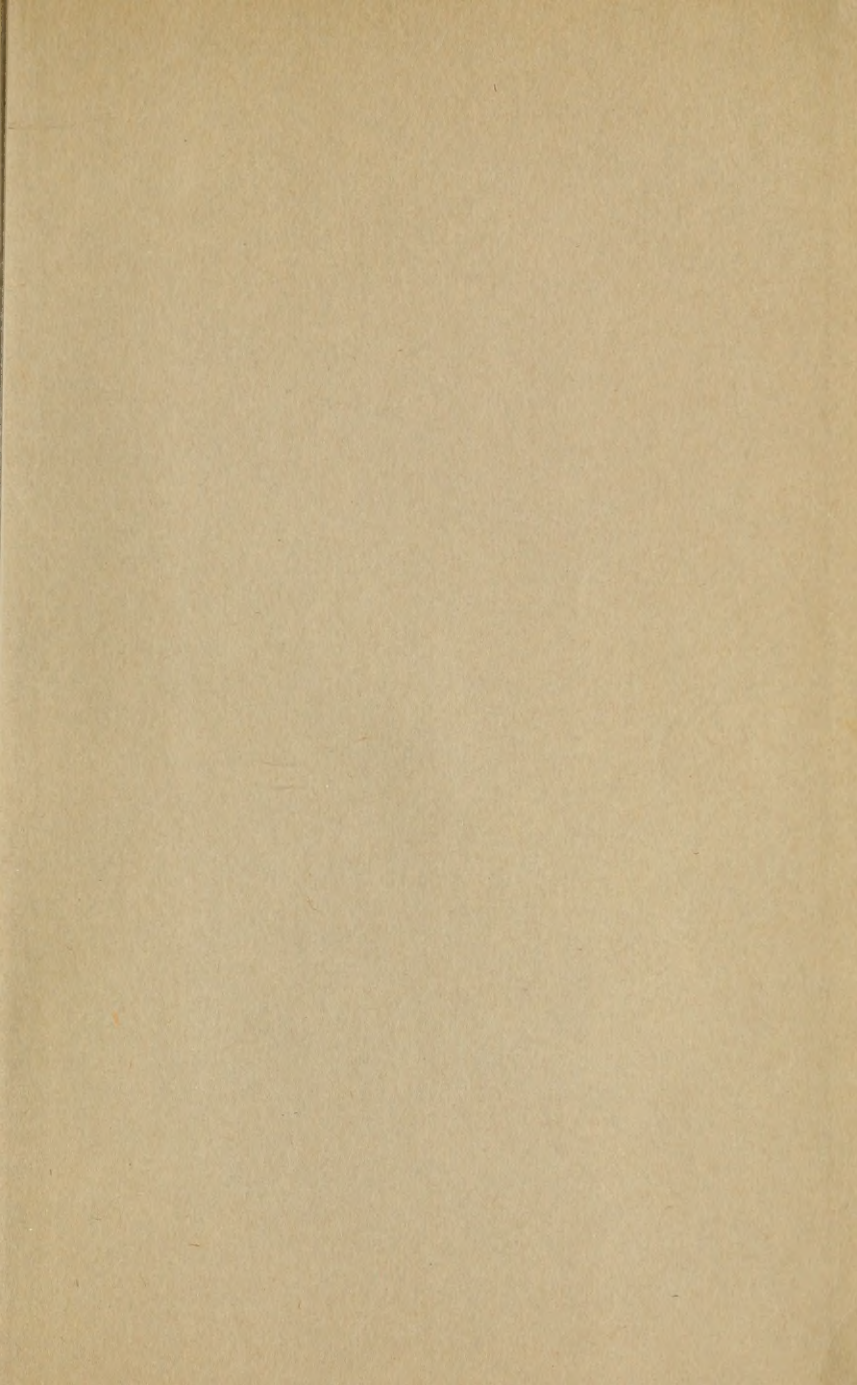
During the time I was particularly employed in looking after pirates—about eighteen or twenty months—I took in all fifty-four junks, and about two hundred prisoners. As for the number of guns, and people liberated, I hardly know, not having kept any regular list. The guns were all of good manufacture, most being made in England, the others in Germany or Belgium.

At the time I speak of, Hong-Kong was a hot-bed of piracy and villany. Chinamen generally, but Cantonese particularly—and of all Chinamen I suppose there are no greater rascals—who had made their own country too hot for them, congregated on this rocky piece of English soil for protection. The Chinese population was then about 115,000. Headmen of pirate gangs resided there, and piratical junks anchored with impunity in the harbour; they used actually to have the coolness to come to, and take up a berth close to my gun-boat, but usually they remained amongst their fellow-craft at the other end of the harbour. An English brig, or schooner, or the smallest, most insignificant craft sailing under these vaunted colours, on anchoring in this *English* port, was at once boarded, by not only one authority, but by two or three; certainly by the harbour-master and the guard-boat of some man-of-war at anchor in the port. She had to sign papers, deliver others, and generally give an account of herself, her whole crew, arms, con-

tents, and other items being entered in printed forms. Possibly her crew consisted of five or six men, the captain, and a boy, and she may have had a couple of small swivel-guns on her after-bulkhead. A junk, or a dozen junks coming in, were never even looked at. I have seen these vessels come sailing along in sixes, or more, mounting ten or twelve guns each, and with crews of forty or fifty men, large enough and perfectly able to take the finest merchant vessel afloat. These junks were not pirates, but honest traders, or ostensibly so; but honest traders were by no means above doing a bit of piracy when trade was slack. However, this is not the point of my remarks. What I objected to was that these junks should come and go without any notice whatever being taken of them, whereas our own vessels were very differently treated; and as I have said before, pirates were often anchored in the port, which seemed a queer arrangement, to say the least of it. On one occasion I saw a small English vessel leave the port, and a fine big junk follow her; they both went round the point together and disappeared from view. Before they had gone very much further, our countryman was attacked and robbed, I believe by that very junk. On another occasion, I actually took a pirate junk and all her crew from under the very nose of one of our police stations, at the eastern entrance to the harbour. All these things I pointed out in the proper quarter, and they have been, if not altogether, to a great extent, rectified; junks are now registered and numbered, and Chinamen prevented from entering Hong-Kong without a passport.







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